Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects   Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects

1987

The Settlement of Frankenmuth, Saginaw County, Michigan: A Cultural Resource Study

Gary G. Robinson
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

THE SETTLEMENT OF FRANKENMUTH, SAGINAW COUNTY,

MICHIGAN: A CULTURAL RESOURCE STUDY

———————

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

———————

by

Gary Grant Robinson

1987

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Gary Robinson
Gary G. Robinson

Approved, May 1987

Norman Barka
Norman Barka

Vinson Sutlive
Vinson Sutlive

Theodore R. Reinhart
Theodore Reinhart

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

        The thesis presented herein is a study of the cultural
resource environment of the village of Frankenmuth, Saginaw
County, Michigan.   A cultural resource survey of the
village, including the documentary and archaeological
records concerning the village is presented as are the
histories of the village and of the surrounding area.   The
original settlement pattern of the village, its probable
origins, and the influences that helped shape it are
identified and discussed.   The proposition, put forward by
some of the historians of Frankenmuth that this pattern is
an expression of a newly adopted ideology, is examined and
found to be without merit.

        The relationship between an ethnic community and its
material culture is explored and conclusions illuminating
the potentialites and problems of the archeological study
of ethnicity and settlement are presented.   Among the
conclusions drawn from the data is the apparent fact that
economic influences frequently obscure the potential
identification of ethnic expression in the archaeological
record.   Also, there are indications that the settlement
pattern of the village of Frankenmuth does not conform to
those of the major settlement types as identified by
Kenneth C. Lewis and that it actually represents an
intermediate form between the insular and cosmopolitan
frontier settlement types.   This phenomenon is apparently
caused by the economic circumstances surrounding the
initial settlement of the village.

THE SETTLEMENT OF FRANKENMUTH, SAGINAW COUNTY, MICHIGAN: A CULTURAL RESOURCE STUDY

Introduction

The thesis presented herein is a study of the cultural resource environment of the village of Frankenmuth, Saginaw County, Michigan. Frankenmuth was chosen as the topic of this investigation because of its ethnic heritage and its unusually well documented history. The study is organized into two sections. The first section consists of a cultural resource survey of the village including a survey of the documentary and archaeological records concerning the village. The first section also contains the histories of the village and of the surrounding area. The second section focuses on the original settlement pattern of the village, its probable origins, and the influences that helped shape it. The proposition, put forward by some of the historians of Frankenmuth that this pattern is an expression of a newly adopted ideology, will also be examined. It is also the intention of this thesis to explore the relationship between an ethnic community and its material culture.

The village of Frankemuth is located in southeastern Saginaw County in east central Michigan, directly south of
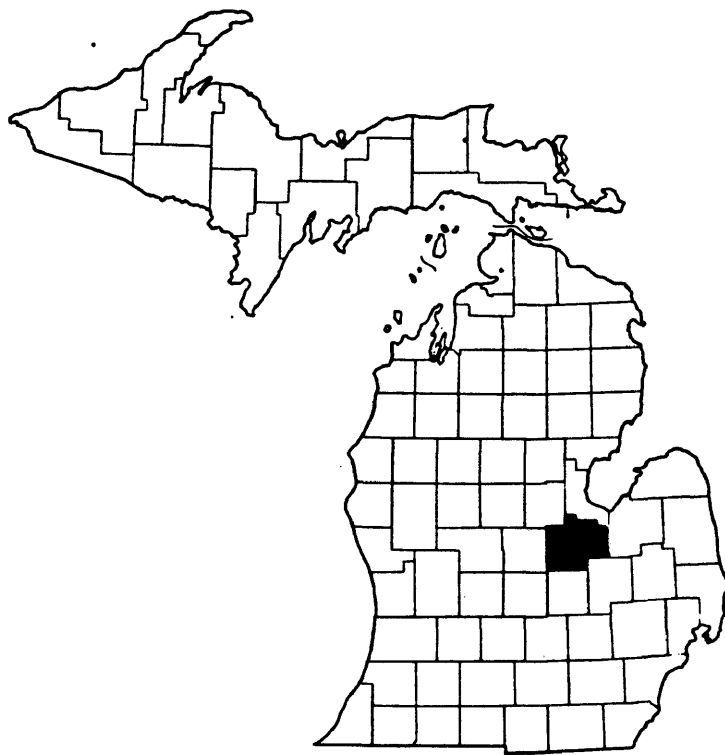
Fig. 1. Location of Saginaw County, Michigan.

Fig. 2. Location of Frankenmuth, Michigan.

Saginaw Bay (Figs. 1, 2). The Cass River, a major
tributary of the Saginaw River, flows east to west through
the town. The modern village is known as a popular tourist
attraction and is oriented north to south along Michigan
Route 83. The original settlement lay west of the current
downtown and was oriented east to west along the Cass River
(Fig. 3).

Frankenmuth was founded in 1845 on the northern bank
of the Cass River. It's original inhabitants were
clergymen and peasant farmers who emigrated from villages
in the vicinity of Nuremberg, Germany. The purpose of the
settlement was twofold. It was intended to not only serve
as a mission colony charged with the duty of converting the
local Chippewa Indians to the Lutheran church but as a
means to provide a better standard of living, both
materially and spiritually, for the most impoverished
members of the church in Bavaria. Currently, because of
the successful marketing of its ethnic identity,
Frankenmuth functions as a major tourist attraction for the
state of Michigan.

The settlement of Frankenmuth was examined utilizing a
systems approach. Environmental and historic cultural
contexts were identified and described. A review of
previous historical archaeological research was done and a
survey of existing cultural materials and information about
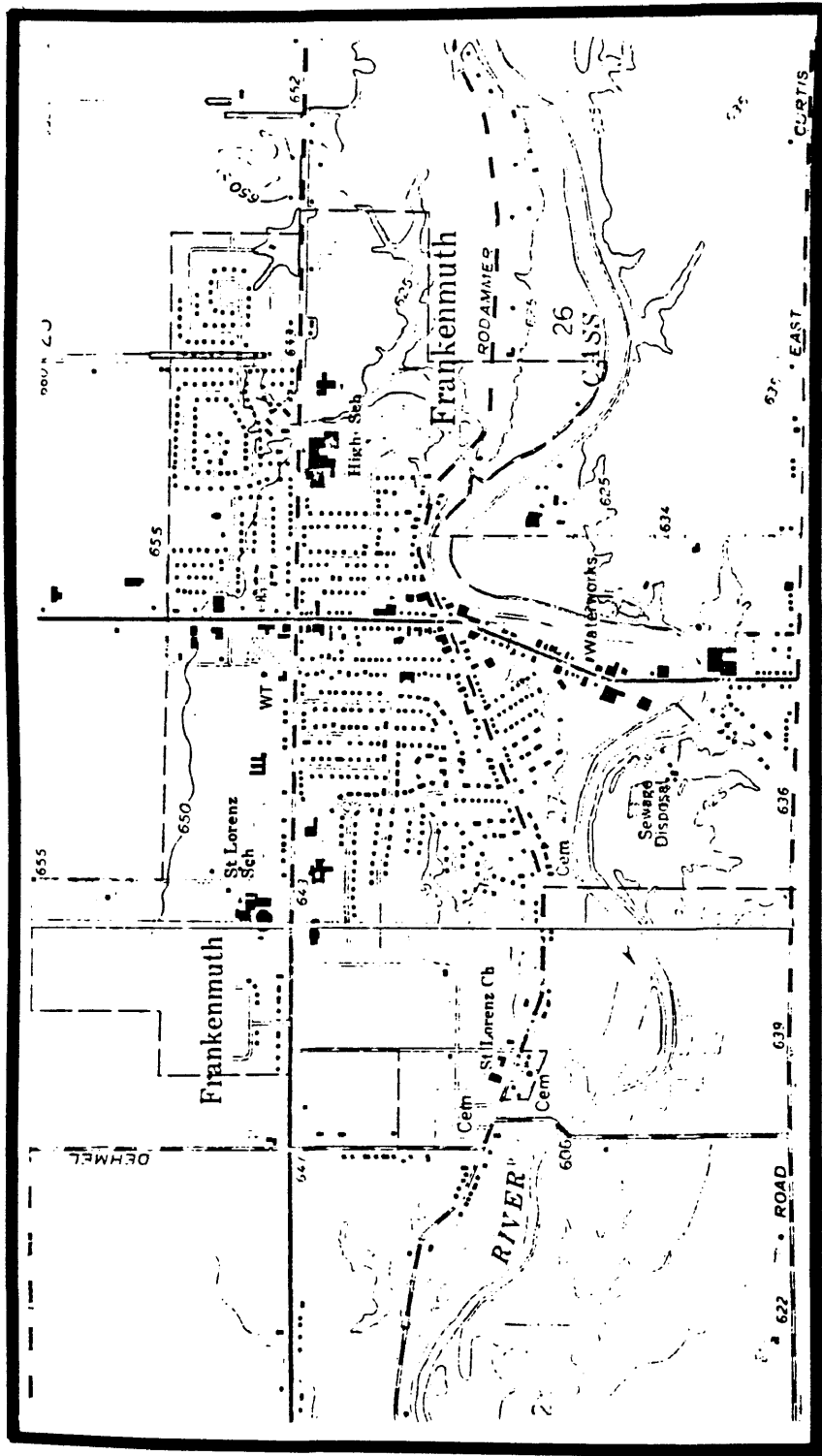
Fig. 3. Map of modern Frankenmuth (USGS 1978a, 1978b).

such materials will be presented. Environmental, socio-economic, and ideological influences on the settlement were identified and their impact on the selection of the original settlement pattern will be discussed.

Because the property on which the original settlement was established is currently owned by St. Lorenz Lutheran Church, no excavation of the site was possible. The proposed research of the original settlement was accomplished through documentary research and the examination of museum collections. All available cartographic documents and local and regional histories were examined. The collections at the Frankenmuth Historical Museum and the Saginaw Historical Museum were examined. The archives of the State of Michigan Library, the special collections of the Hoyt Public Library in Saginaw, the Michigan State University Library, and the library of Saginaw Valley State College were utilized. The surviving records of the Village of Frankenmuth were examined along with pertinent county records. Books, journals, and reports concerning the archaeology of the Frankenmuth will also be consulted.

Chapter 1

A HISTORY OF SAGINAW COUNTY

Mills (1918:42) indicates that, at one time, there was a general presumption that the first European settlers in the Saginaw Valley were Jesuit missionaries. This conception was supported by the traditional lore of some of the remaining local Indians during the early days of this century which claimed that apple trees occurring near the mouth of the river had been planted by Jesuits. Mills further states that a reading of the Jesuit Relations fails to produce any mention of such a settlement (Mills 1918:42).

It is likely that the first Europeans in the Saginaw Valley were French fur traders based either at Detroit or Michilimackinac (Mills 1918:48). The first documented presence of an European in the Saginaw Valley is that of Jacob Smith a fur trader who would later be credited with the founding of the city of Flint. Although Smith was actively trapping and trading with the local Indian tribes in the Saginaw area by 1810, there is no record of his establishing a permanent residence there (Gross 1980:6).

The first permanent European settler in the area was Louis Campau who arrived in the Saginaw Valley from Detroit in 1815 (Dustin 1968b:96). Acting as an agent for his uncle, Joseph Campau, in Detroit, Louis constructed a "massive, two story structure of great strength and solidity" on the west bank of the Saginaw River (Dustin 1968b:96, Mills 1918:49). This structure was used not only as a residence but as a fortified trading post and storehouse (Dustin 1968b:96).

In 1819 General Lewis Cass, then Governor of the Northwest Territory, arrived in the Saginaw area to negotiate a treaty with the Indian tribes. This treaty, the Treaty of Saginaw, was negotiated in the buildings at Campau's settlement which, at this time, had grown to include four log buildings placed end to end (Dustin 1968b:97). In the Treaty of Saginaw the Indians ceded to the United States land amounting to about six million acres. This area is approximately bounded by the cities of Flint, Kalamazoo, and Alpena (Dustin 1968b:106-107).

In 1822 a military fort was established near the mouth of the Saginaw River. This action was deemed necessary because of the increasing harassment of the settlers in the Saginaw Valley by the local Indians (Mills 1918:59). The nature of this harassment is described in an article from the June 27, 1823 Detroit *Gazette*:

Frequent complaints were made by the settlers in
that direction (the territorial government in
Detroit, my parentheses) of the insolence of the
Indians, who not only ravaged their corn fields
and killed their cattle, but often insulted them
in their dwellings...(quoted from Emery 1932:26)

The fort was constructed as an one and one third acre
square, measuring 200 feet by 350 feet and enclosed by a
palisade of ten foot long pickets. Two gates, each twelve
feet high and twelve feet wide, were situated at opposite
ends of the the fort; one gate facing the river. Within
the palisade of the fort were barracks, an hospital and a
storehouse, and a guard house (Fig. 4). Exterior
blockhouses were situated at the northwest and southeast
corners of the fort (Emery 1932:18-19).

Unfortunately, for the soldiers stationed there, Fort
Saginaw was located in a region of mosquito infested swamps
(Gross 1980:7). By August 1823, nearly the entire garrison
was incapacitated by "fever", doubtlessly, malaria, common
in that part of the state (Emery 1932:27). On October 26,
1823, Fort Saginaw was abandoned because of the unhealthy
conditions in which it was located (Emery 1932:29). In
1824 the abandoned fort became a trading post for the
American Fur Company (McGaugh 1950:40).

With the abandonment of Fort Saginaw, the fledgling
settlement went into a period of decline. Alexis de
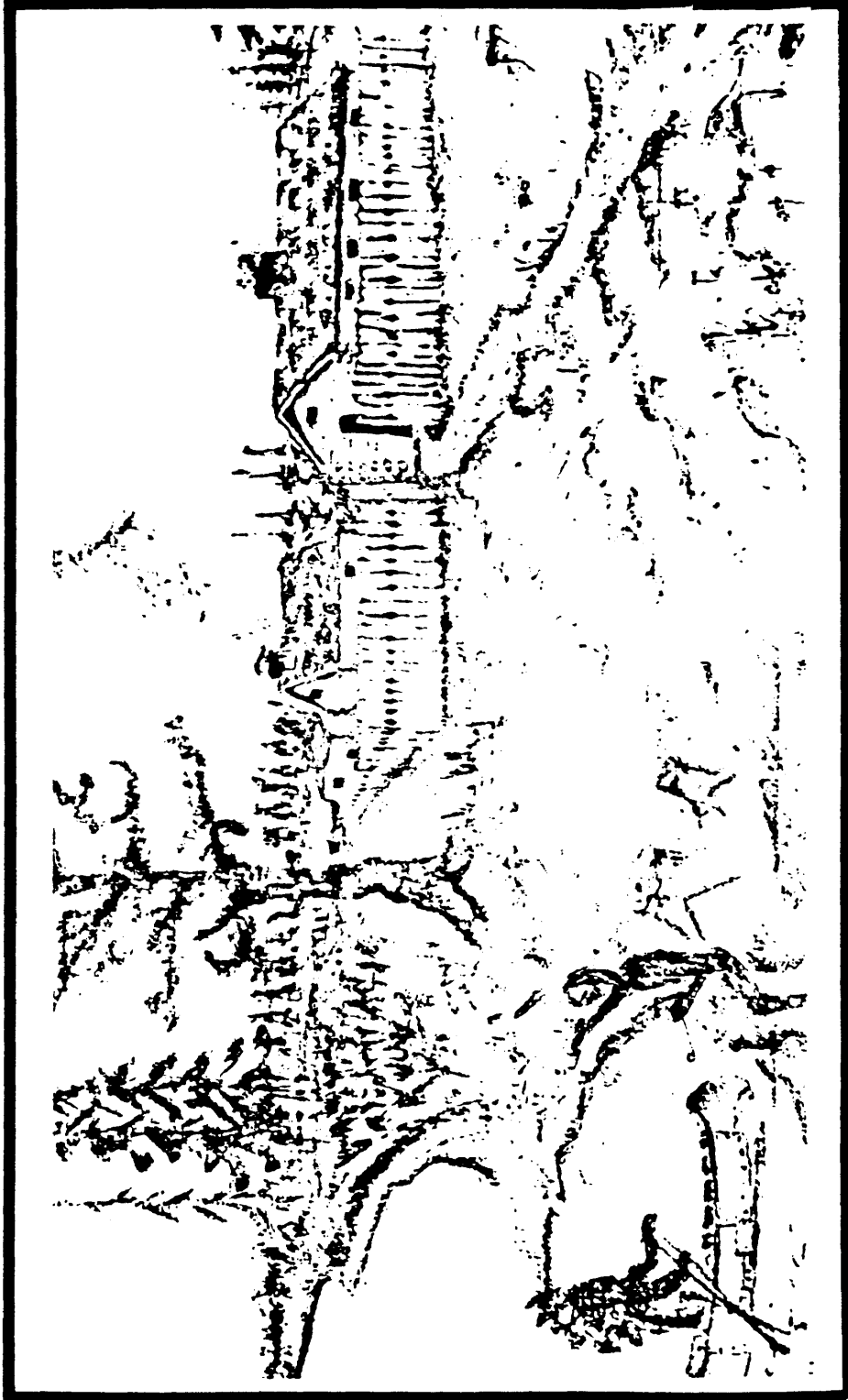
Fig. 4. Artist's depiction of Ft. Saginaw (Gross 1980:7).

Tocqueville visited the area in 1831 and described the settlement at Saginaw as having only thirty residents (Tocqueville 1862:187).

With the exception of the area immediately adjacent to Detroit, the state of Michigan was virtually unsettled before its admission to the Union in 1837. The county of Saginaw was formally organized in 1835 (Mills 1918:97). In that same year Harvey, Gardner, and Ephraim Williams constructed a saw mill on the west bank of the Saginaw River thereby founding an industry that would make Saginaw world famous (Gross 1980:23). The Williams' constructed a second mill on the east bank of the river the following year. By 1855 twenty-three saw mills were in operation along the Saginaw River (Gross 1980:25). By 1889 the Saginaw Valley was producing 851 million board feet of lumber (McGaugh 1950:144).

The industry launched by the Williams' would grow rapidly, transforming Saginaw into a major urban center. By the 1880s Saginaw and the surrounding county had a highly diversified economy that produced most of the goods necessary to service the burgeoning settlement. Among the major industries present in the city at that time were salt production, iron foundries, ship building, tin and copper smithing, saddleries, brick and tile manufactories, tobacco processing, and flour and grist mills (McGaugh 1950:194).

The growth of the lumbering industry had two effects on the settlement of the Saginaw Valley. It not only produced Michigan's first major urban center outside of Detroit, but greatly facilitated the agricultural settlement of the region.

Between 1827 and 1835 the territorial government in Detroit improved the Saginaw Trail, the main road between Detroit and Flint. This made Saginaw, some 40 miles north of Flint, much more accessible (McGaugh 1950:41-42). The settlement of the region that quickly followed the improvement of the Saginaw Trail was more than just the result of improved transportation. As the southern tier of counties in Michigan gradually became settled, population pressure encouraged the settlement of the sparsely populated Saginaw Valley. Coincidental with this situation was the fact that more land in the Saginaw Valley was becoming available for agricultural use as the forests were cleared by the large scale lumbering activities that were being initiated in that region (McGaugh 1950:205). The roads and railroads needed by the lumbering industry also provided necessary transportation to local and statewide markets for the farmers in the region (McGaugh 1950:220).

Until the 1860s the predominant crops grown in the Saginaw Valley were wheat and corn. After the Civil War these two staples were suplemented by a fledgling dairy

industry and the introduction of sugar beets, beans, and
potatoes as major crops in the region (McGaugh 1950:220-
221).

As the forests became depleted the lumbering industry
began to falter. In the ten year period between 1889 and
1899 the lumber production was more than halfed, from 851
million board feet in 1889 to a mere 340 million board feet
in 1899 (McGaugh 1950:144). The discovery of nearby
deposits of oil and coal helped mitigate the impact of the
death of the major industry that had supported the region
for half a century (Gross 1980:65). Also, the fledgling
automobile industry made an impact on the future of
Saginaw. In 1907 the first automobile manufactured in
Saginaw was produced. Also, steering gears were being
locally produced for the automobile industry in Saginaw and
in neighboring Flint. The city's participation in
automobile manufacturing was short lived. No automobiles
have been produced in Saginaw since 1918 (Gross 1980:77).

The production of steering gears continues as a major
industry however, with the Saginaw Division of General
Motors devoted solely to that purpose. Saginaw also serves
as a major river port with ships from many nations sailing
up the Saginaw River to deliver iron to the foundaries or
to pick up agricultural products for export.

Chapter 2

A HISTORY OF FRANKENMUTH

The village of Frankenmuth is the creation of Johann
Konrad Wilhelm Loehe, a Lutheran clergyman who lived in the
Bavarian village of Neudettelsau from 1837 until his death
in 1872 (Dengler 1953:5). In 1840 Loehe became concerned
with the reported lack of spiritual guidance among the
German settlers in the United States. To help remedy this
situation he began to train missionaries for service in
North America. Soon he developed the plan of establishing
Lutheran settlements in the United States, which, under the
guidance of a resident clergyman, would act as centers for
missionary work. These settlements would be financed by
wealthy supporters from the city of Mecklenburg. With the
assistance of a household servant, Lorenz Loesel, local
villagers, primarily from Rottstall and Altmuehlgrund, were
recruited to establish a new settlement in the United
States. Loehe decided on the name Frankenmuth (Courage of
the Franks) for the first settlement (Dengler 1953:6-8).

One factor that may have aided the recruitment of
colonists was a Bavarian law which required proof of

property ownership before a marriage license could be issued (Walker 1964:54-55). The fact that only one couple among the original colonists was married at the time of their departure for the United States tends to support this proposition (Dengler 1953:9). Also, Walker (1964:75) states that during this time many Bavarian villages were taking measures that allowed their most impoverished residents to emigrate to the United States.

The man chosen by Loehe to lead the first colonists to the New World was Frederich August Craemer. Craemer had been educated in modern languages at Erlangen University and had, for a time, been an instructor of German language and literature at Oxford University. On April 4, 1845 Loehe ordained Craemer into the ministry in the city of Bremen. Barely two weeks later Craemer and the colonists departed that city aboard the ship *Carolina* bound for their new home in the Saginaw Valley of Michigan. The day after their departure Craemer married the engaged couples sailing with him (Dengler 1953:7-9).

Upon arriving in Michigan the colonists purchased 680 acres of land along the Cass River approximately 15 miles east of Saginaw (Greenholt 1937:101). One of the attractions of this location was its proximity to the village of the Chippewa chief Ottusson (Dustin 1968c:123) which would greatly facilitate their effort to convert the

local Indians. The colonists were never successful in this endeavor because the Indian village moved shortly after the arrival of the Bavarians (Dengler 1953:12).

A disagreement developed between the settlers and Craemer as to how the property on which the colony was to locate would be divided. Loehe and Craemer both favored a highly nucleated village form with the colonists living in the immediate vicinity of the church and working land some distance away (Fig. 5). The colonists preferred a more dispersed pattern of settlement with each family's homestead situated directly on their property. Much to the chagrin of Craemer, the latter pattern was the one instituted by the colonists (Greenholt 1937:105).

In May 1846 a second group of colonists arrived at Frankenmuth. Shortly thereafter, a flour mill was constructed on the Cass River approximately one mile east of the settlement (Dengler 1953:13). Saw mills were also constructed nearby (Johnson 1972:133). This area soon formed the new center of settlement for the village (Dengler 1953:13). In 1854 Bridgeport Township in which the village was located, was subdivided to create Frankenmuth Township (Dengler 1953:26).

For the first century of its existence agriculture, food processing, and the hospitality industry, later supplemented by the introduction of some manufacturing,
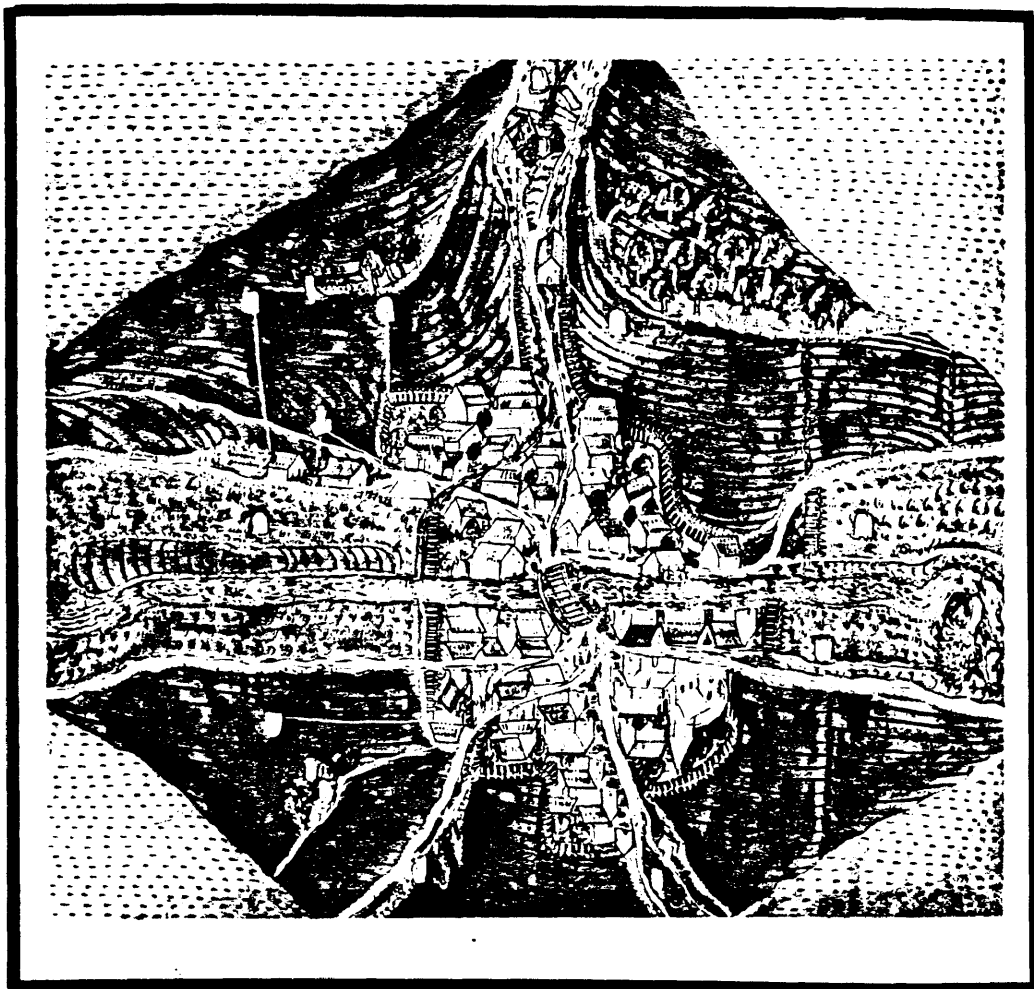
Fig. 5.   A nucleated village near Nuremberg, ca. 1600
(Braudel 1979:270).

were the mainstays of the village's economy. With agriculture securely in place as its foundation, the economy of Frankenmuth began to diversify. Brewing, meat processing, and dairying became integral components of the economy (Johnson 1972:133). The hospitality industry was an early, important economic activity of the village. The Exchange Hotel opened in 1856 and several others were subsequently constructed (Weitschat 1976:15). These hotels prospered serving the burgeoning lumbering industry of the Saginaw Valley and maintained their place in the economy of the village long after that industry had collapsed (Dengler 1953:33, Sawyer 1981b:12).

From its founding until 1940, Frankenmuth is characterized as being "self-sufficient and isolated", largely because that was the desire of its residents (Dengler 1953:20). Because proposed rail service to the village was blocked by the villagers due to concerns that the railroad would mar the scenic beauty of the region, freight had to transported to Frankenmuth from the station at Gera Junction, several miles away. After the spur of the Saginaw-Detroit interurban rail line closed in 1929 the village went twelve years without access to mass transportation. Eventually, in 1941, Greyhound Bus Line received a franchise from the village to operate in the town (Dengler 1953:20).

The population of Frankenmuth grew slowly and remained homogeneous in regards to its origins and religious beliefs. Only those of German origin or descent resided in the village. In the half century from 1904 to 1950 the population failed to double in number (Dengler 1953:26). It was not until 1937 that the village gave general permission to "outsiders" regardless of national heritage or religion to move into the community. Previous to that action, the only outsiders living in Frankenmuth were professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, and newspaper editors who provided necessary services that the village could not provide from its permanent resident population (Dengler 1953:21).

A major factor in the very conservative nature of the village is its charter, the *Gemeinde Ordnung*. Written in 1848 by Johann Adam List, a mechanic, and other settlers, the purpose of this document was to obviate the intrusion of outside civil courts into community disputes and to keep outsiders from moving into the area (Dengler 1953:23). The charter's major premise was; "Since every member of the community participates in the welfare of the community life, so every member of the community is obligated, within reason, to contribute according to his ability" (Gemeinde Ordnung, 1852, Section 2; quoted from Dengler 1953:23). Among its provisions were:

1. A mandatory labor donation in support of the church and clergy.

2. Provision for road construction and road and fence maintenance.

3. Community consent on the sale of property with community members receiving first consideration as purchasers.

4. All members of the community must be of the Lutheran faith.

Although six trustees were elected to implement and administer these and the other provisions of the charter, the Lutheran church exerted a considerable influence in all decisions concerning the village and township (Dengler 1953:23-25).

The use of language in the village also remained conservative. Three languages were used in Frankenmuth, each with its own function. High German was used in church. Church records were kept in High German until the early 1950s (Dengler 1953:28). Bayrisch, a Franconian-Bavarian dialect of German, was used in the household and for casual conversation (Beatty 1957:13). English was the language of civic records. All of the village and township records have been recorded in English since the beginning of the settlement. English has become the predominant language of the village only since the end of the Second World War and even today Bayrisch is frequently spoken by the residents (Dengler 1953:28).

During the late 1950s, two factors joined to transform Frankenmuth into one of the major tourist attractions in the state. The completion of Interstate 75, located just west of the village, made Frankenmuth much more accessible to travelers (Weitschat 1976:20). Also, the national recession of 1958 had a significant impact on commerce in the village and prompted some of the local businessmen to explore new strategies of marketing the services offered by the town. The result of this exploration was the architectural transformation of the village from an eclectic 19th-century agricultural town to a self-consciously Bavarian village (Sawyer 1981b:7).

This process probably began in 1958 when local restaurateur, William Zehnder, remodeled one of his restaurants to resemble a *Bauerhaus*, a large, old style German farmhouse (Fig. 6, Weitschat 1976:23). Festivities surrounding the grand opening of the newly remodeled Bavarian Inn eventually grew into the very popular Bavarian festival, an important annual event (Weitschat 1976:30). Other businesses and civic buildings soon followed Zehnder's lead by being remodelled to exemplify the ethnic heritage of the village. Often nondescript buildings were "Bavarianized" by the addition of false fronts, shingled roofs, and window boxes (Weitschat 1976:36-37). Local construction firms became adept at producing what Sawyer

Fig. 6. Zehnder's Bavarian Inn.

(1981b:7) calls a "neo-Bavarian" appearance. By the use of dark wood and a stucco-like material they could create an imitation of German *fach-werk* or half-timbered construction (Sawyer 1981b:7). Weitschat (1976:49) claims that there is virtually no authentic Bavarian architecture in Frankenmuth. Zehnder's Bavarian Inn is not only the first and closest example of Bavarian architecture.

Coupled with an increase in the promotion of the village, the effect of this reorientation was to increase Frankenmuth's visibility which, in turn, greatly benefited the economy of the village by increasing the amount of transient traffic that passed through the town. Today it is not uncommon for upwards of 100,000 visitors to attend the village's annual Bavarian Festival (Weitschat 1976:32-33). The village in the late 1980s is very much "a dynamic, active and in some respects, a typical example of a viable and successful American community" (Sawyer 1981b:7).

Chapter 3

MATERIAL CULTURE SURVEY

A survey was also conducted to determine the extent
and nature of cultural materials that may have survived
since the time of the earliest settlement of Frankenmuth.
This survey was conducted in four parts: a review of
previous archaeological research done in the area; a
preliminary pedestrian survey of the area of initial
settlement to determine whether any physical remains of the
earliest settlement survive; a subsequent museological
survey focusing on the collections of the Frankenmuth
Historical Museum; and, finally, a documentary search,
including reports of previous archaeological work done in
the area, to determine the nature of the material culture
of the earliest settlers.

Previous Archaeological Research

Previous historical archaeological research in the
village of Frankenmuth has been very limited. With the
exception of a small excavation conducted by avocational
archaeologists in 1960 (Brunet 1981a:9), and two cultural

resource surveys conducted in conjunction with the
replacement of the bridge on Dehmel Road (Brunet 1981a,
1981b), no archaeological investigation of the village or
the site of the original settlement was conducted until
1982.

During August and September 1982, an archaeological
team from the Museum and the Department of Anthropology of
Michigan State University conducted six weeks of Phase III,
or mitigation stage, excavations at the Weber I (20-SA-581)
and the Weber II (20-SA-582) sites, located on the line
between Sections 27 and 28, T 11N, R 6E, in Frankenmuth
Township, the area of the earliest settlement. The
mitigation was made necessary by the planned construction
of a new bridge on Dehmel Road where it crosses the Cass
River. These investigations were under the direction of Dr.
William A. Lovis. Investigations of the Weber II site
determined that the site was a late 19th-/early 20th-
century agriculturally associated occupation with minimal
prehistoric occupation (Lovis 1983:1).

Langhorne (1983:272) found that the cultural materials
recovered from the site were limited both as to variety and
number of specimens. The ceramic assemblage consisted of
undecorated and decorated whiteware, stoneware
(predominantly salt-glazed with an Albany slip), and lead-
glazed earthenware, respectively, in order of frequency.

Only the whiteware and stoneware proved to be temporally diagnostic and both were dated to the last half of the 19th-century (Langhorne 1983:257-259).

Temporally significant glass artifacts included bottle glass and solarized molded and lamp chimney glass. Because the latter artifacts were manufactured using manganese, as demonstrated by the amethyst tinting that developed in the glass, Langhorne (1983:264) determined their date of manufacture to be between ca. 1850-1918. The bottle glass was from two vessels. One, a clear liquor bottle with an Owens-Illinois Corporation mark on the base, must have been manufactured after the formation of the Owens-Illinois Corporation in 1929. The other vessel represented was a brown bottle that had a lightning stopper with a vulcanized rubber plug. This style of stopper dates the manufacture of this bottle to between 1880 and 1915 (Langhorne 1983:264).

Other temporally significant artifacts from the assemblage, a quantity of cut and wire nails and two clay pipe bowl fragments, also indicate that the site from which they were recovered dates from between ca. 1860-1870 to ca. 1915 (Langhorne 1983:267-272).

Smith (1983:277, 281) found that species represented in the Weber II faunal assemblage were those commonly found on historic period sites, and were probably recovered from

a refuse deposit. Remains of domestic pig and cow exhibited saw cuts that resulted from the commercial butchering of the animals (Smith 1983:277).

As a whole the assemblage recovered from the Weber II site appears to be a typical late 19th-century artifactual assemblage. All artifacts in the assemblage date from the 1860s onward and therefore are not represenative of the initial, 1840s settlement of the village (Langhorne 1983:272). The faunal assemblage also demonstrated species and distributions consistent with a late 19th-century refuse deposit, and are also not represenative of the earliest settlement of the village (Smith 1983:281).

Pedestrian Survey

The pedestrian survey proved negative. As the survey was informal in nature, as opposed to one conducted under the aegis of a state or federal agency, and owing to the fact that much of the area examined was privately owned or church-owned property, no subsurface test probes were excavated. The surface of the region of initial settlement was thoroughly examined. No structural or domestic remains were located.

The gravemarkers in the St. Lorenz Church cemetery, which is situated in the center of the land purchased for the establishment of the colony and contains the remains of

the first settlers to succumb in Frankenmuth, were examined
(Greenholt 1937:103). These markers revealed design and
decorative elements, such as willows and clasped hands,
that were no different from those to be found in cemeteries
of contemporary age elsewhere in eastern Michigan (Figs. 7,
8).

Terry G. Jordan in his analysis of German cemeteries
in Texas states that, in spite of exhibiting noticeable
internal divisions drawn along sectarian lines, German
cemeteries in Texas generally reveal:

> a wide variety of cultural elements--the abundant
> use of the mother tongue, including some
> noteworthy indigenous verse; the craftmanship of
> skilled carvers and metalworkers; medieval hex
> signs and folk art motifs; and typically Teutonic
> attention to order, neatness, and geometry
> (Jordan 1982:89).

Although St. Lorenz Cemetery exhibits the use of German
inscriptions and an orderly, geometrical layout of the
cemetery, this lack of distinctly Bavarian motifs on the
gravemarkers is unexpected in light of the evidence provided
by Jordan. It appears that, like most of their other
material needs, the gravemarkers were purchased from local
sources and therefore exhibit no ethnically distinct traits.

Museological Survey

The museological survey revealed little that could be
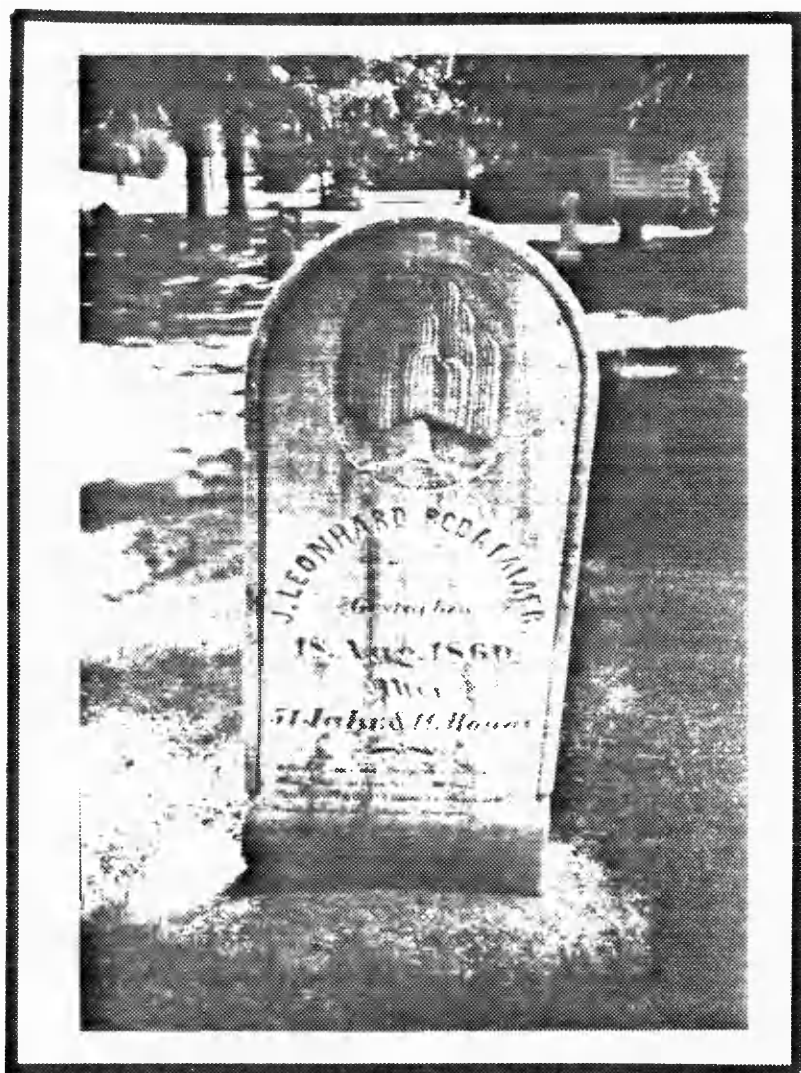
Fig. 7. A gravemarker in St. Lorenz Cemetery.
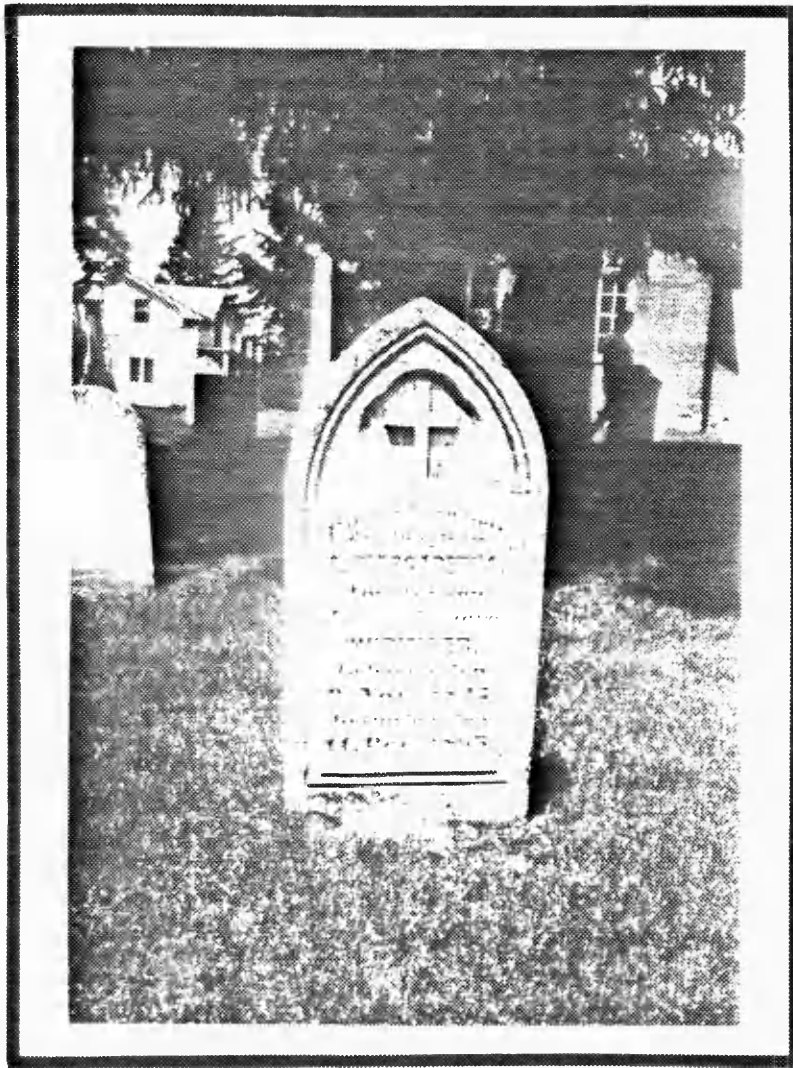
Fig. 8. A gravemarker in St. Lorenz Cemetery.

considered distinctly Bavarian material culture that was indicative of the everyday life of the earliest settlers. The Frankenmuth Historical Museum curates a rich collection the cultural materials that document the community's growth and development. Examination of the total collection of the museum revealed agricultural implements and domestic materials remarkable only in the fact that are represenative of mainstream American material culture of the 19th-century.

The lack of significant cultural materials represenative of the earliest period of Frankenmuth's history is problematical. It is possible that cultural materials from that earliest period are being curated by the descendents of the first settlers and have not as yet become part of the museological record. It is the opinion of Carl R. Hansen, Director of the Frankenmuth Historical Museum, that this is not the case and that these materials simply do not exist or have not survived (Carl R. Hansen, personal communication).

Documentary Survey

The documentary survey was also productive of information relating to the architectural practices of the earliest settlers. Only a small amount of information about the construction techniques and architectural styles of the earliest settlement of Frankenmuth has survivied.

Among the first buildings erected by the settlers of

Frankenmuth were a parsonage that also served as the church and schoolhouse of the colony. This building was probably erected in 1846 or early 1847. Zehnder (1970:77) remarks that the school was built before the arrival of Edward Bierlein. Bierlein arrived in Frankenmuth on June 10, 1847 to serve as teacher to the local Indian children (Zehnder 1970:77).

Accounts of the parsonage's appearance describe it as being one and one-half stories tall, 30 feet long, and 20 feet wide (Frankenmuth 1846a). This description also matches the structure in Figure 9 which is purported to be the schoolhouse. Although the photograph shows an early structure, the origin of the photo is unknown the identification of the structure depicted is uncertain (Carl R. Hansen, personal communication).

A visitor to Frankenmuth in 1846 desribes the cabins of the original settlers as small "blockhouses" (*blockhaus*) similar to those in his native Franconia (Frankenmuth 1846b). *Blockhaus* is a Bayrisch term referring to a house constructed of logs (Anderson 1983:298). This "blockhouse" style was probably a common, vernacular architectural style of mid-19th-century Franconia. Apparently the "blockhouse" style was highly variable in its expression. Local informants state that a "blockhouse" structure could be one of two stories high and square or rectangular in shape
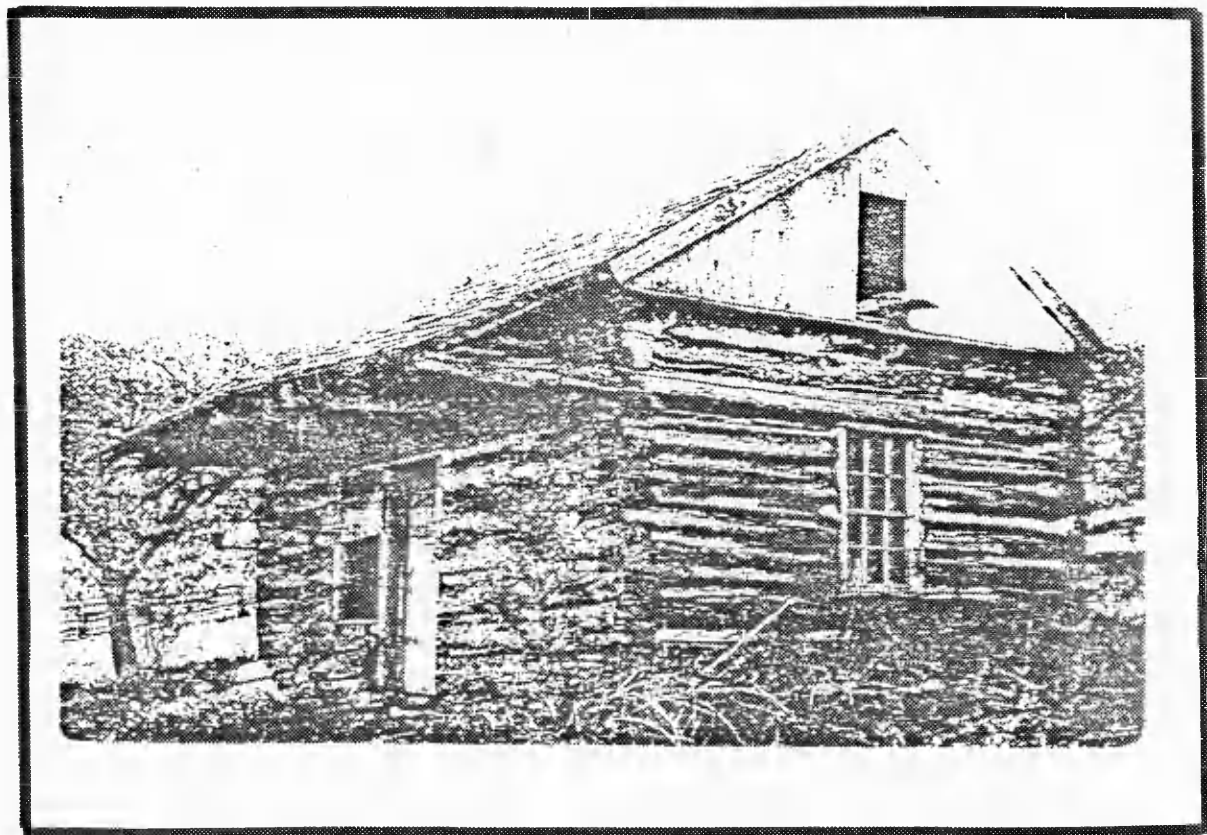
Fig. 9. Photograph purported to be of the original
schoolhouse at Frankenmuth (Frankenmuth n.d.).

(Anderson 1983:298).

Charles H. Sawyer, Director Emeritus of the Museum of Art at the Univesity of Michigan, Ann Arbor, recently published an architectural survey of the Frankenmuth area. Sawyer, in his description of a replica of an early Frankenmuth building (Fig. 10), indentifies three additional traits as being typical of German log buildings in the Midwest. These traits were: V notching at the corners of the structure; the presence of rather wide spaces between the rough hewn logs and the consequent amount of caulking required; and the extension of the top log to form a cantilever supporting the roof of the front porch (Figs. 10, 11; Sawyer 1979:2, 1981a).

Whether any of the above traits were manifested in the architecture of the earliest buildings in Frankenmuth is unknown. Information garnered from the local informants and the description of the parsonge given above are probably as close as possible to a determination of the elements of the "blockhouse" style of vernacular architecture. Attempts to further define this architectural style were unsuccessful because of the lack of literature concerning 19th-century German vernacular architecture.

The construction of several hotels in the village was an important economic event in the history of Frankenmuth. Sawyer (1981b:7) identifies four of the structures that
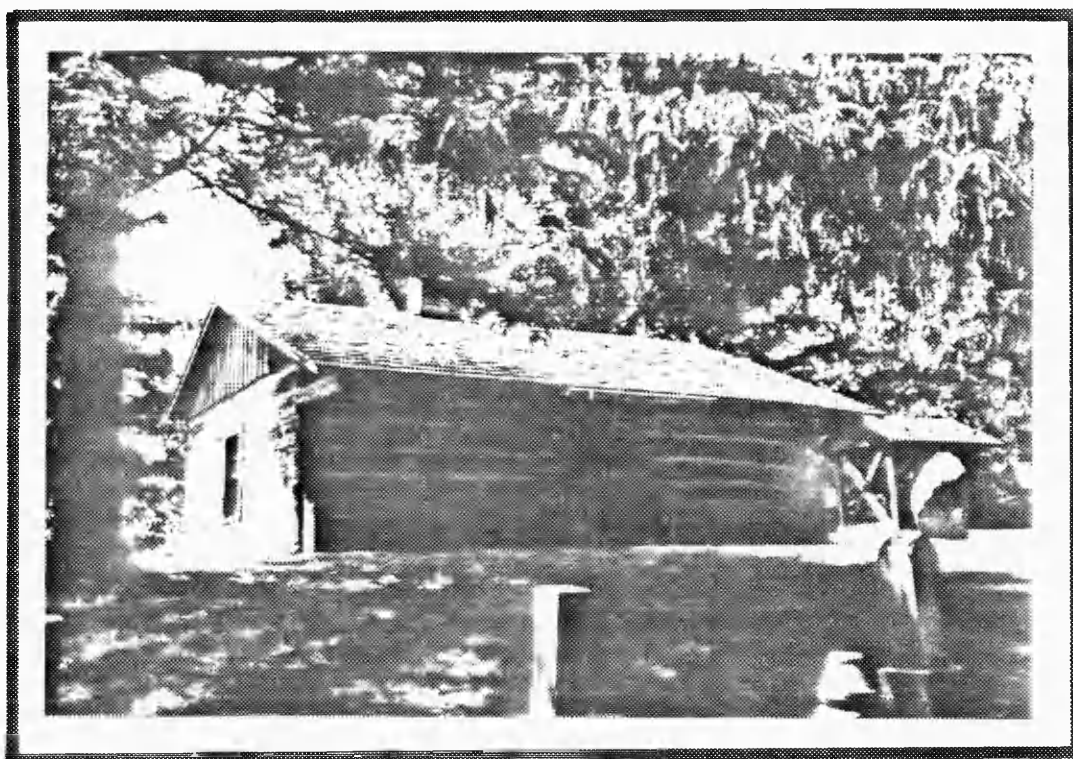
Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the parsonage and schoolhouse
in St. Lorenz Cemetery.
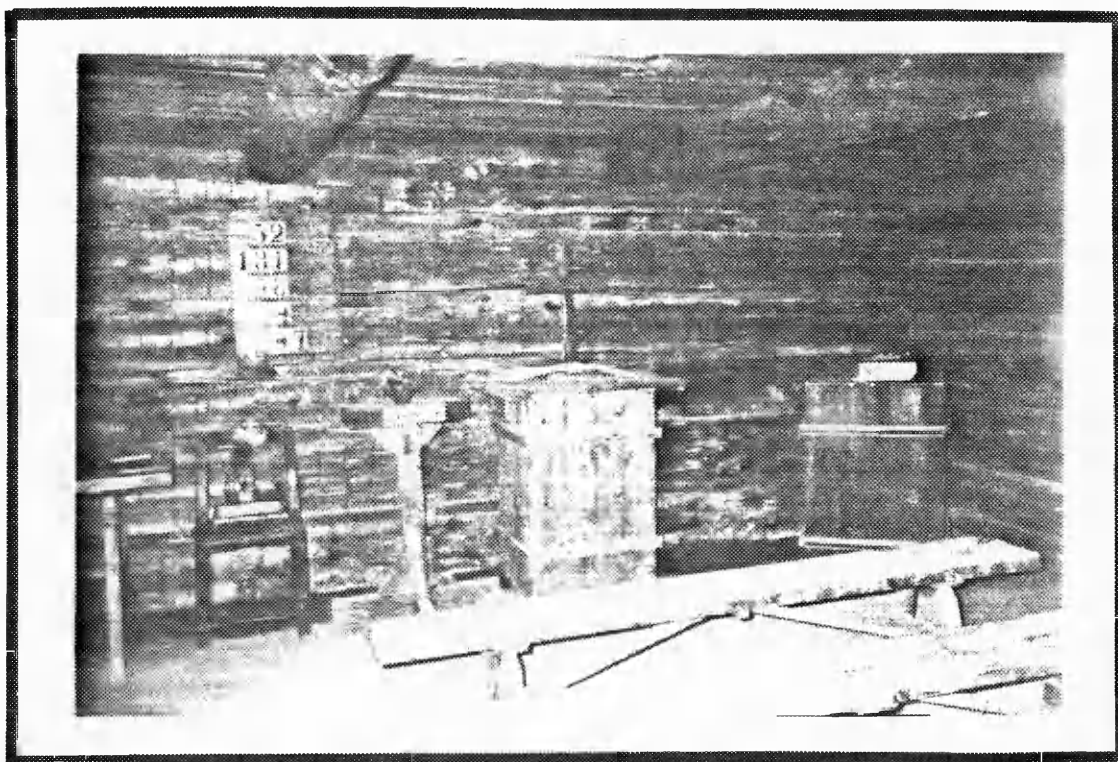
Fig. 11. Interior of the reconstructed parsonage.

comprise modern downtown Frankenmuth, the Frankenmuth

Historical Museum (Fig. 14), the Tiffany Biergarten/Raus

Country Store (Fig. 15), Morse Haus Antiques, and Oscar Rau

Furniture Center, as originally having been occupied by

hotels. Both the Frankenmuth Historical Museum and the

Tiffany Biergarten are two story structures with covered

front porches and second story balconies. Sawyer states that

the architecture of the first two buildings mentioned above

are very similar to inns and hotels constructed by German

immigrants in Southwest Texas during the mid-19th-century

(Sawyer 1981b:7).

The documentary search also provided possible answers

concerning the paucity of cultural materials surviving from

the earliest days of the settlement. This curious lack of

cultural materials from the time of the initial settlement of

Frankenmuth appears to be the effect of not ony the amount of

cultural materials brought by the colonists to the Saginaw

Valley but in the way the colonists acquired materials

necessary for their survival.

In his accounting of the possessions the colonists

brought with them to Michigan, Zehnder states that the

settlers brought their own bedding and cooking untensils.

The only other possessions mentioned are ecclesiastical

items: two bells, one of which was ornately decorated; a

black funeral procession cross with brass corpus; a red altar
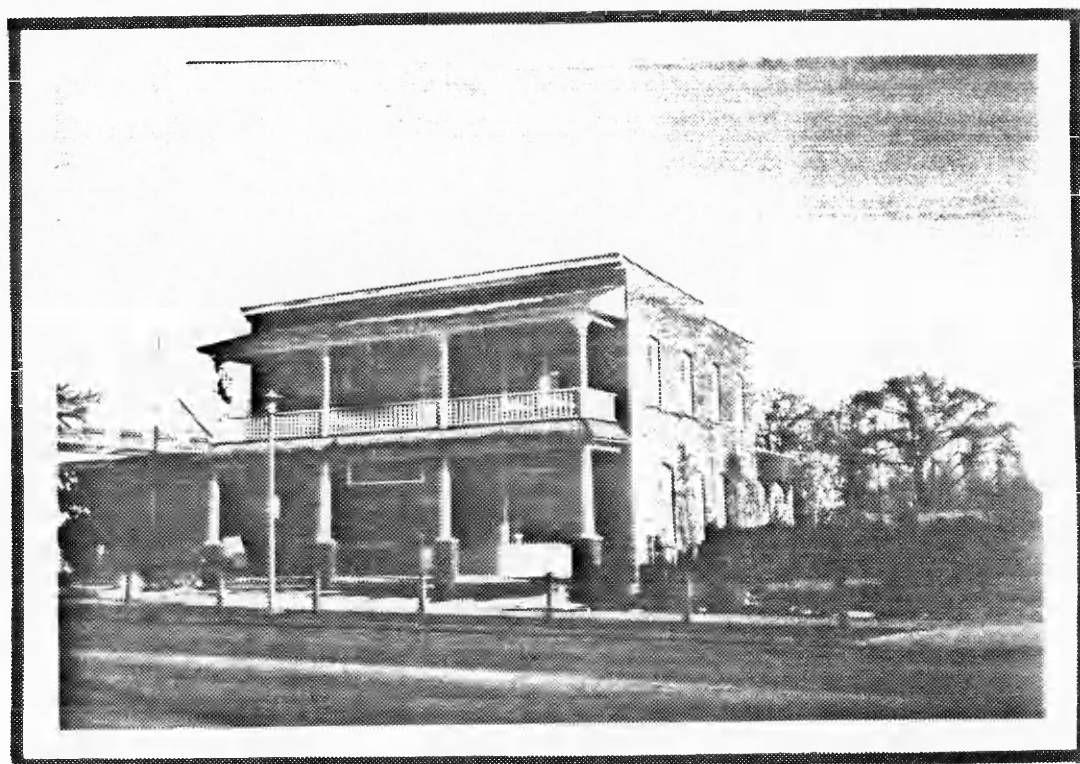
Fig. 12. The Frankenmuth Historical Museum.
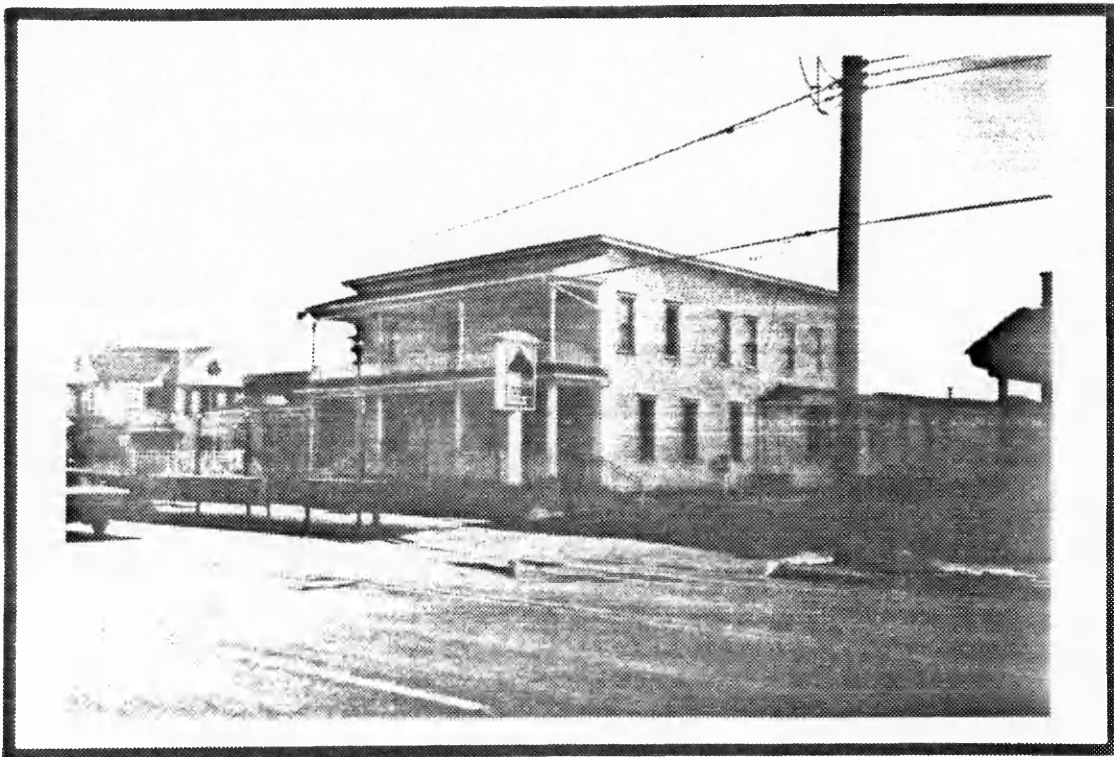
Fig. 13.   The Tiffany Biergarten and Rau's Country Store.

and pulpit paraments; an altar crucifix; two candlesticks; Commuion vessels; a large pulpit Bible; a catechism and a small hymnbook; and some prayerbooks and books of sermons (Zehnder 1970:22). Greenholt (1937:108) notes that when the colonists first arrived in Frankenmuth "everything they possessed was loaded upon an ox cart." There may have been other small items not mentioned by Zehnder but it is clear that the colonists brought few posessions with them to the new world.

Acquiring what was necessary to establish the colony and to guarantee its success appears not to have been much of a problem. Almost immediately the colonists established trade relationships with the nearby farmers and local Indians for livestock and other essentials that could not be grown or manufactured (Zehnder 1970:65-66, 120). Also many other necessities were brought from Saginaw, a relatively short distance up the Cass River, or from the other nearby communities of Flint and Tuscola (Zehnder 1970:66, 120).

At least two factors, therefore, are responsible for the paucity of cultural materials surviving from the earliest settlement. One, the first colonists brought only a small number of possessions with them when they settled at Frankenmuth. Two, they almost immediately integrated into the local economy, acquiring what they needed to survive from local sources. The effect of the interaction of these two

factors was that the material culture utilized by the
colonists was indistinguishable from that of their American
neighbors.

Chapter 4

INTRODUCTION TO SETTLEMENT PATTERN ANALYSIS

The settlement pattern chosen by the colonists has been controversial from the time of its adoption. It was the intention of Frankenmuth's founder, Wilhelm Loehe, that the village and the other colonies that would follow it, would remain part of the German Reich. Before departing from Germany the colonists signed a charter guaranteeing that they would remain loyal subjects of Germany (Dengler 1953:11). Loehe also expected the colonists to establish a highly nucleated village type with the colonists living within the village and tending fields outside of the village. This was to be accomplished by the implementation of a plan by which each property holder was to receive four acres with four acres also to be given to the church. When Craemer presented this plan to the colonists in Michigan, they immediately objected to it preferring instead to live individually on their own farmsteads (Greenholt 1937:104-105).

The general lack of ethnically identifiable material culture from the period of the earliest settlement of the

village has focused the attention of researchers on the
settlement pattern chosen by the colonists as an indicator
of the mental set of the colonists. Although none of the
histories of the village contain analyses of the processes
that produced the settlement pattern in question, the above
mentioned historical event has been interpreted in some
histories of the village as a sign of a great ideological
change among the colonists, the rejection of the plan
approved by the leaders of the colony indicating a
preference for an "American" lifestyle in place of the
familiar Bavarian lifestyle from which they came. Zehnder
(1970:57) apparently promotes this point of view when he
states that, "Communal life among the colonists lasted
throughout the winter, but the American custom of building
houses on individual farms prevailed over Craemer's and
Loehe's scheme to reproduce the Bavarian village." Even
more supportive of this view is Weitschat (1976:7,10) who
states that:

> From the time of its founding in August, 1845 the
> "colony" of Frankenmuth was to develop a
> settlement configuration which was American in
> character rather than to continue the familiar
> style of Franconian Bavaria. Already by 1846 the
> early settlers had firmly decided to adopt the
> American settlement pattern...

If a major change in the choice of settlement pattern

did indeed occur during the initial settlement of Frankenmuth this change would have had to have satisfied the multiple subsistence and social needs of the population and would have to have been initiated by more than the sudden adoption of a more copacetic ideology. Land and landscape have value only in so far as it can produce materialistic benefits. To this end, the landscape into which a settlement is placed is structured by the settlers so as to efficiently produce those benefits. Decisions determining how a landscape is to be structured, and thereby converted into a man made, productive environment, are dependent not only on the settler's perceptions of the natural environment but also on subjective knowledge of specific social contexts (Jakle 1974:26-27). This process creates a settlement pattern comprised of utilitarian and social values and that functions as material culture in much the same way as do the architecture and the household goods associated with the settlement.

To properly analyze the settlement pattern implemented at Frankenmuth it will be necessary to determine the possible influence the environmental differences between Bavaria and the Saginaw Valley had on the selection of the pattern. Attention must also be given to the subsistence and social systems the settlers brought with them from their former homeland. Also, the proposition that the

settlement pattern implemented at Frankenmuth was American in origin must be investigated to determine its validity.

Chapter 5

ARCHAEOLOGY AND SETTLEMENT

The first substantial archaeological study of
settlement pattern was done by Gordon R. Willey. Willey's
book *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Viru Valley*,
published in 1953, identified changes in form and
distribution of sites in the small valley in Peru over the
course of several thousand years. These changes were
explained by relating them to socio-economic trends and
historical events. Another contribution of Willey's
research to the study of settlement patterns was his
identification of settlement patterns as reflecting "the
natural environment, the level of technology on which the
builders operated, and various institutions of social
interaction and control which culture maintained" and,
therefore, were a "strategic starting point for the
functional interpretation of archaeological cultures"
(Willey 1953:1)

Throughout the 1960s two approaches dominated
settlement pattern studies. The first was primarily
ecological in focus. This approach was based on the

conception that settlement patterns were primarily the product of the interaction of environment and technology. The ecological approach was concerned with the size and distribution of whole sites and largely investigated the adaptation of a society and its technology to its environment (Trigger 1978b:168-169).

The second approach that dominated the 1960s utilized settlement pattern data as a basis for making inferences about the social, political, and religious organization of the prehistoric cultures under investigation. This approach concentrated on the patterning within individual sites (Trigger 1978b:168-169).

Trigger (1978b:169) recommends the utilization of settlement pattern data at three levels, individual buildings, community layout, and zonal patterns. Patterns displayed at each of these levels can be viewed as being functionally related in some way to all aspects of a culture and therefore able to provide information concerning a variety of cultural problems. Individual structures can furnish information about family organization, craft specialization, and the relative importance of different aspects of the social structure. Religious structures may elucidate ritual behavior. Community plans can yield useful information about lineage organization and a community's adaptation to its physical

and cultural environments. Zonal patterns reflect many aspects of the social and political organization of complex societies, as well as of trade and warfare in these societies.

Recent years have seen the increase in the examination of historical settlement patterns. Two major influences on the development of historical settlement studies are historian Frederick Jackson Turner and geographer John C. Hudson.

In his 1893 publication *The Significance of the Frontier in American History,* Turner identified changing geographical landscapes as being the product of the adaptation of existing cultures to frontier environments. This process created societies that were fundamentally different than their homeland (Lewis 1984:9). Further developing this line of thought in later years, Turner determined that each frontier created a new society whose development resulted in sectionally based political and economic selfconsciousness that would continue to characterize each former frontier region.

Although the intention of Turner's research was to provide and explanation of cultural processes he failed to provide adequate linkages between the frontier and the behaviors attributed to it. In spite of this shortcoming, Turner's conception as an adaptive response to conditions

imposed by the physical and social environment of colonization and that these processes might not be unique to North America were important contributions to the study of the American frontier (Lewis 1984:9-10).

Geographer John C. Hudson has provided a model of the settlement of rural regions that has been adapted by the researchers of historic settlement patterns. Hudson's model of change in rural settlement patterns has three stages and is based on observations of the colonization of regions by plants and animals (Hudson 1969).

The first stage of Huson's model is colonization. During this phase of rural settlement a population extends itself into new areas. Settlement density at this time is low and the settlement pattern is random but not isolated from the colonial trade and communications network. The second stage is one of spread. During this phase the settlement increases as a result of population growth. Because settlement tends to spread out from earlier population centers, its distribution becomes clustered. The third stage is one of competition. The ultimate outcome of the spread stage of settlement is that all available land is occupied. This prompts competition between the population centers of a region over the finite resources of the area. Disadvantaged settlements may decline or become abandoned at this time. Another result

of this competition is that population centers may become evenly distributed throughout the region. The reorganization of the settlement of a region outlined above may be seen as an attempt to stabilize the economic environment and permit maximum settlement density (Hudson 1969, Lewis 1984:22, Warren and O'Brien 1984:25).

Two major historic settlement research projects have been accomplished in recent years. Robert E. Warren and Michael J. O'Brien have recently completed research on the settlement dynamics of the Salt River valley in northeast Missouri. Warren and O'Brien's synthetic model of settlement in northeast Missouri builds on Hudson's model of rural settlement (Warren and O'Brien 1984:22). The Warren and O'Brien model has Hudson's basic framework but with several added economic and sociocultural dimensions (Warren and O'Brien 1984:57).

Stage 1 of the Warren and O'Brien model represents the expansion of the immigrant population into unsettled territory. Warren and O'Brien take exception with the fact that Hudson's model predicts a random settlement pattern throughout the region. For this pattern to be produced, they argue, the environment would have to be homogenous and since this is unlikely the settlement morphology be one of low population density, small landholdings, and with settlements occurring in restricted, i.e. advantageous,

environments (Warren and O'Brien 1984:52).

Stage 2, the spread phase of settlement, has five distinct phases in the Warren and O'Brien model. Settlement during Stage 2 is represented by independent immigration with new populations moving into previously unsettled areas, interdependent immigration with families related to previous settlers moving into previously settled regions, budding with mature offspring of the original . settlers settling in the immediate vicinity of their parents, service and trade center associated settlement with new settlements occurring at the periphery of the local centers, and, linear settlement along roadways. The end result of this complicated scheme of settlement is a fairly random distribution of population occassionally interrupted by clustered and linear settlements (Warren and O'Brien 1984:53-54).

Stage 3 is characterized by competition for appropriate settlement environments caused by the saturation of settlement in the most advantageous regions. This occurrence reinforces the trend toward a regularized settlement pattern intiated during the Stage 2 settlement phase (Warren and O'Brien 1984:56-57).

Kenneth C. Lewis' *The American Frontier: An Archaeological Study of Settlement Pattern and Process* was published in 1984 and is the second of the major research

projects produced during recent years to be discussed here. Summarizing Lewis' complex and comprehensive study of settlement on the South Carolina frontier would be too time consuming to be appropriate for the scope of this study. For the purposes of this study it is important to note that Lewis recognizes two major types of settlement, the insular frontier settlement and the cosmopolitan frontier settlement.

An insular frontier settlement is isolated from its homeland. These settlements are economically diverse and established as long term enterprises. Their success as a colony is largely dependent on an extensive adaptation to its new environment. This process further weakens socioeconomic ties with the homeland making further adaptation necessary for survival (Lewis 1984:16-17).

Cosmopolitan frontier settlements are economically specialized and are usually short term in nature. These settlements are subject to a great deal of manipulation of their affairs by the parent state. Also, the success of a cosmopolitan settlement is largely dependent on the economic policy of the parent state. As such, these settlements exhibit relatively little adaptation to local environments (Lewis 1984:16-17).

This review of the archaeological research of settlement patterns has shown that settlement pattern data

has the potential to provide meaningful information about many of the questions concerning culture process. Settlement pattern data has also proven itself to be flexible enough to be utilized in the investigation of several levels of social and economic organization. The study of settlement patterns, both prehistoric and historic, would appear to be an important component of archaeological research into the functioning of culture process.

Chapter 6

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNICITY

The archaeological investigation of ethnicity has generally been more successful at identifying the problems of ethnic identification in the archaeological record than at identifying ethnically expressive artifacts themselves. Kelly and Kelly (1980:138) have identified factors in the material culture of a society that might make it sensitive to ethnic expression. They state that items of local manufacture or those with facilitate social persistence or adaptation should more accurately reflect ethnic origins. Unfortunately for this viewpoint, the identification of ethnic material culture has not been facilitated by these guidelines.

Gradwohl and Osborn (1984:190-191) described some difficulty in identifying ethnic material culture from the early 20th-century Iowa coal mining town of Buxton. Buxton was home to a significant black population as well as Swedish immigrants. With the exception of religious and lodge medallions and grave marker inscriptions the ethnic

identity of the artifacts were difficult to discern.
Gradwohl and Osborn hypothesize that the differences in
ethnic material culture may be obscured by the fact that
all Buxton residents may have obtained most of their items
at the company store or by mail-order catalogs. They also
feel it is possible that ethnic differences were not
expressed in the material culture during the time of
Buxton's existence.

Otto (1980:11) also notes difficulty in determining
the ethnic origin of artifacts from the Cannon's Point
site. Whereas the artifacts associated with the planters
were easily identifiable the material culture associated
with the slaves and overseers were apparently more
sensitively reflecting economic status than ethnic origin.
This experience lead Otto to state that the quantity and
quality of cultural materials recovered from archaeological
sites were not always accurate indicators of ethnic status
and that ethnic status should be ascertained by documentary
research and the collection of oral histories and that this
data should then be used as an interpretative tool (Otto
1980:11). Baker (1980:35) also questions whether apparent
ethnic differences at Black Lucy's Garden might actually be
the reflection of the economic status of the original
occupant of the site.

Among the factors Kelly and Kelly (1980:139-140)

discuss as effecting the ability of the archaeologist to discern the ethnicity of the artifacts from a site is the "culture of poverty" which apparently cuts across all ethnic groups. If this phenomenon actually exists, as both Otto and Baker apparently believe, then it may not be possible to determine ethnicity in lower economic status sites. The determination of ethnic status for groups of higher economic status may well be possible because such groups are more to likely appear in the documentary record.

The other factors effecting the ability of the archaeologist to identify ethnicity in the archaeological record, as discussed by Kelly and Kelly (1980:139-140) are as follows. Atypical settlement types, such as the all male Chinese site discussed by Evans (1980:95) or seasonal or specialized sites, would call for research designs to be more sensitive to ethnic expression in the material culture. Ideosyncratic behavior of the original residents of the site can also obscure ethnicity in the archaeological record. Finally, the sparseness of the archaeological record itself, due to differential preservation of artifacts or site disturbance, may make the determination of ethnic origins of the artifacts impossible.

In conclusion, the determination of ethnicity in the archaeological record is a difficult, and occassionally

impossible, task. Great care must be taken in the research design, excavation, and analysis of the data from the site for any ethnically identifiable information to be discerned.

Chapter 7

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND SETTLEMENT

The interpretations of the perceived change in
settlement pattern at Frankenmuth by Weitschat and Zehnder
are the product of a very dichotomous conception of the
origins and nature of settlement patterns. They postulate
an ideologically motivated change in sensibilities on the
part of the colonists in which the settlers are introduced
to a "sense" of what it is to be an American, compare this
sensibility to their own sense of being a Bavarian and make
a value judgement in favor of an American settlement
pattern. Implicit in this scenario is the fact that
ideology is a primary determinant of settlement pattern
type.

One hundred forty-two years after its settlement,
Frankenmuth still maintains its identity as a Bavarian
village. Maintenance of an ethnic identity depends on the
existence of an ethnic boundary. The maintenance of this
boundary is not dependent on the totality of cultural
traits contained by the ethnic group but by only those
traits which are utilized as symbols of an identity

separate from other groups. These symbolic traits may be behavioral or material in form (McGuire 1982:160).

Ethnic boundaries not only maintain the ethnic identity of the community but also serve to canalize the community's social life by means of a frequently complex organization of behavior and social relations. Therefore, the identification of another individual as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally "playing the same game", and this means that there is between them a potential for diversification and expansion of their social relationship to cover eventually all different sectors and domains of activity. On the other hand, a dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest (Barth 1969:15).

Entailed in ethnic boundary maintenance are also situations of social contact between persons of different cultures: ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked difference in behavior, i.e. persisting cultural differences. Yet where persons of

different cultures interact, one would expect these differences to be reduced, since interaction both requires and generates a congruence of codes and values--in other words, a similarity of community of culture. Thus the persistence of differing ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences. The organizational feature which must be general for all inter-ethnic relations is a systematic set of rules governing inter-ethnic social encounters. In all organized social life, what can be made relevant to interaction in any particular social situation is prescribed. If people agree about these prescriptions, their agreement on codes and values need not extend beyond that which is relevant to the social situations in which they interact. Stable inter-ethnic relations presuppose such a structuring of interaction: a set of prescriptions governing situations of contact, and allowing for articulation in some sectors or domains of activity, and a set of proscriptions on social situations preventing inter-ethnic interaction on other sectors, and thus insulating parts of the cultures from confrontation and modification (Barth 1969:15-16).

Of the elements identified as significant in the settlement of the village, the subsistence strategy and

material culture appear to be incapable of acting in such a manor so as to maintain the ethnic boundary. A subsistence strategy based on the practice of plow agriculture was not unique to the Bavarian colonists as it had been widely practiced throughout Europe since before the Middle Ages (Pfeifer 1956:250). Further evidence of its ineffectiveness as a mechanism of ethnic boundary maintenance is the fact that upon their arrival in the Saginaw Valley, the colonists immediately purchased or bartered for the items necessary to practice this form of subsistence strategy (Zehnder 1970:65-66). From the first, inter-ethnic economic interaction was recognized as being necessary for the survival of the settlement therefore, such interaction was prescribed.

Material culture also must be eliminated from consideration as a boundary maintenance mechanism. As noted in the above Material Culture Survey chapter, the colonists brought few, if any, ethnically identifiable material culture with them from Bavaria. Architectural expression of ethnicity would appear to rest solely in the *blockhaus* vernacular style of construction and buildings of this style were replaced by frame structures as quickly as was economically possible. Later buildings were apparently unremarkable in their architecture as Sawyer (1981b:7) characterizes them as being "of the eclectic architectural

styles characteristic of middle America in the late nineteenth century." Current examples of ethnic architecture that are predominant in the village, date only to the late 1950s and were not instrumental in the maintenance of Bavarian ethnic boundaries in historical times (Weitschat 1976:23).

Two elements of the settlement do exhibit the the apparent capability of acting as maintenance mechanisms for the ethnic boundary, the Lutheran Church and the Bayrisch dialect of the German language. Both of these elements demonstrated remarkable longevity and appear to be instrumental in preserving the ethnic identity of succeeding generations of village residents.

The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LC-MS) was founded in 1847 by German Lutheran immigrants who had settled in the Midwest. This branch of Lutheran Church has been characterized as "the core of ultraconservative Lutheranism" (Meyer 1975:181, 189). German language and traditions remained very important for the denomination as witnessed by the fact that its original, official title, *Duetche Evangelish-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten,* remained unchanged until 1917. Early church leaders in the United States opposed the use of English in worship services on presumed doctrinal grounds citing that such a practice would lead to the introduction

of a new "American" religion (Meyer 1975:181). This

continued use of German in church services was also due to

the fact that both the religious doctrine and the language

were components of a cultural process whose function was to

ensure the preservation of the church by promoting

preservation of all of the cultural elements in which it

functioned (Meyer 1975:180-181).

This process was not unique to the German immigrant

churches who eventually became the Lutheran Church-Missouri

Synod. Although ethnically distinct, the various

Protestant denominations organized by European immigrants

in the United States shared a common ideology. All were

Christian churches that laid claim to being part of a

universalizing religious system. Such a universalizing

system is "considered by its adherents to be proper to all

mankind" and has "mechanisms to facilitate (its)

transmittal (Sopher 1967:86-87)."

> For many of these immigrant denominations the
> competitive system of denominationalism in the
> United States was an unfamiliar situation; state
> churches with only a few dissenting church bodies
> prevailed in most European countries. This new
> environment led to high social self-consciousness
> among the immigrant church bodies and to emphasis
> on characteristics peculiar to each church. In
> most cases leaders of immigrant churches believed
> that "the only way to be sure of survival was to
> insist on the rigid preservation of the whole
> (Handlin 1951:129)." Initially, most foreign-
> language immigrant churches used cultural rather
> than doctrinal grounds to maintain their

individuality (Meyer 1975:180-181).

If, as Weitschat and Zehnder apparently believe, ideology is a primary determinant of settlement pattern selection, the ideological environment of Frankenmuth would appear to be militant against a change in pattern. The German Lutheran misssion colony found itself in a competitive religious environment. To meet the challenges presented by this situation a strategy of total preservation of all cultural elements was implemented by proscribing the use of the English language and by the strict adherence to the tenants of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. In such an ideological environment large scale changes in basic behavioral patterns appears to be at best, unlikely and in all probability impossible.

Chapter 8

ENVIRONMENT AND SUBSISTENCE

Many environmental considerations faced the colonists who settled along the Cass River in Saginaw County, Michigan. The seasonal temperature variations and rainfall could affect the growth and production of crops and livestock. Terrain and soil were also important factors in the selection of an appropriate settlement pattern. The environment's, both in Bavaria and in Michigan, effect on the subsistence of the colonists will be examined in this chapter.

The Environment of Bavaria

Landforms

Nuremberg is located in the South German Scarplands region of the Central Uplands Region of the Federated Republic of Germany (Elkins 1972:22). This region stretches from the flood plain of the Rhine Rift Valley and the border of Germany and France on the west to the Bohemian Forest on the east, and from the Rhon Mountains in the north to the Swabian Alb in the south. Although this

region is characterized by a great diversity of terrain, it is united as a distinct region by numerous fertile valleys which are surrounded by ranges of interconnecting hills or escarpments. This distinct arrangement serves to isolate each valley from its neighbors (Sinnhuber 1961:74). The valleys are usually steepsided to the east and gently rise to the west rim of their surrounding hills. It is not unusual for these hills to attain a height of 600 to 1000 feet above the plains they surround. The area from which the colonists emigrated is drained by the Regnitz River, a tributary of the Rhine (Johnson 1972:15).

Climate

The climate of the Central Uplands varies greatly from place to place, according to the relief. The sheltered valleys of the region have a distinctly continental climate with its attendant great variation between summer and winter temperatures. This is particularly true of the eastern valleys in this region (Elkins 1972:33).

Temperatures in Nuremberg range from a Summer (July) mean monthly high of 64.7 F. to a Winter (December) mean monthly low of 29.5 F. (U.S. Department of Commerce 1965-1967). Annual precipitation in Nuremberg totals approximately 24 inches with approximately 38% (9.28 inches) of the annual precipitation occurring during the

summer months of June, July, and August (U.S. Department of
Commerce 1965-1967). No information was located that
indicated the amount of snowfall experienced by the city.

Soils and Vegetation

Two types of soils are present in the area near
Nuremberg. Podzolized soils are the dominant soil type
east of Nuremberg (Dudal, et al. 1966). These soils occur
when the percolation of water through the soil dissolves
elements essential for plant growth. What elements remain
in the soil are unsuitable for hearty plant growth and,
because calcium carbonate has also been removed, too acidic
to sustain a population of earthworms. The results of this
process is that plant material on the surface is not
converted into humus by earthworms and mixed with the
existing soil. Instead, this plant material remains on the
surface as an acidic layer of humus. Below this layer of
humus, the soil, which has been leached of its humus and
iron and other minerals, becomes a grayish clay while the
elements that were leached from the soil are deposited in
the subsoil to form an iron pan (Dickinson 1964:67). These
soils present a great challenge to agricultural pursuits.
Many times they serve only as grasslands. Agriculture has
succeeded in areas of podzolized soil by the addition of
organic matter, usually in the form of sods, or by mixing

the soil horizons to "homogenize" the soil. Forests in
podzolized soil districts are generally composed of
conifers with some deciduous trees present (Dudal, et al.
1966:46).

The second soil type present in the vicinity of
Nuremberg are acid brown forest soils. These soils are
predominant west of Nuremberg (Dudal, et al. 1966). These
soils are undergoing the process of podzolization but have
not been leached to the extent that the podzolized soils
have and are therefore much more fertile and pose fewer
problems for agricultural prusuits (Dickinson 1964:67).
Much of the land that is composed of acid brown forest
soils is utilized as grasslands but rye, oats, and potatoes
have been grown in these soils. Usually some fertilization
is required for sustained crop production. Forests in acid
brown forest soil zones are dominated by confiers and beech
(Dudal, et al. 1966:64).

The Environment of the Saginaw Valley

Landforms

Frankenmuth is situated in the Saginaw Valley
physiographic region of Michigan (Fig. 14). This valley is
formed by the Saginaw River and its tributaries which
comprise the largest drainage system in the state.
Frankenmuth is also located in the Saginaw Lake Border
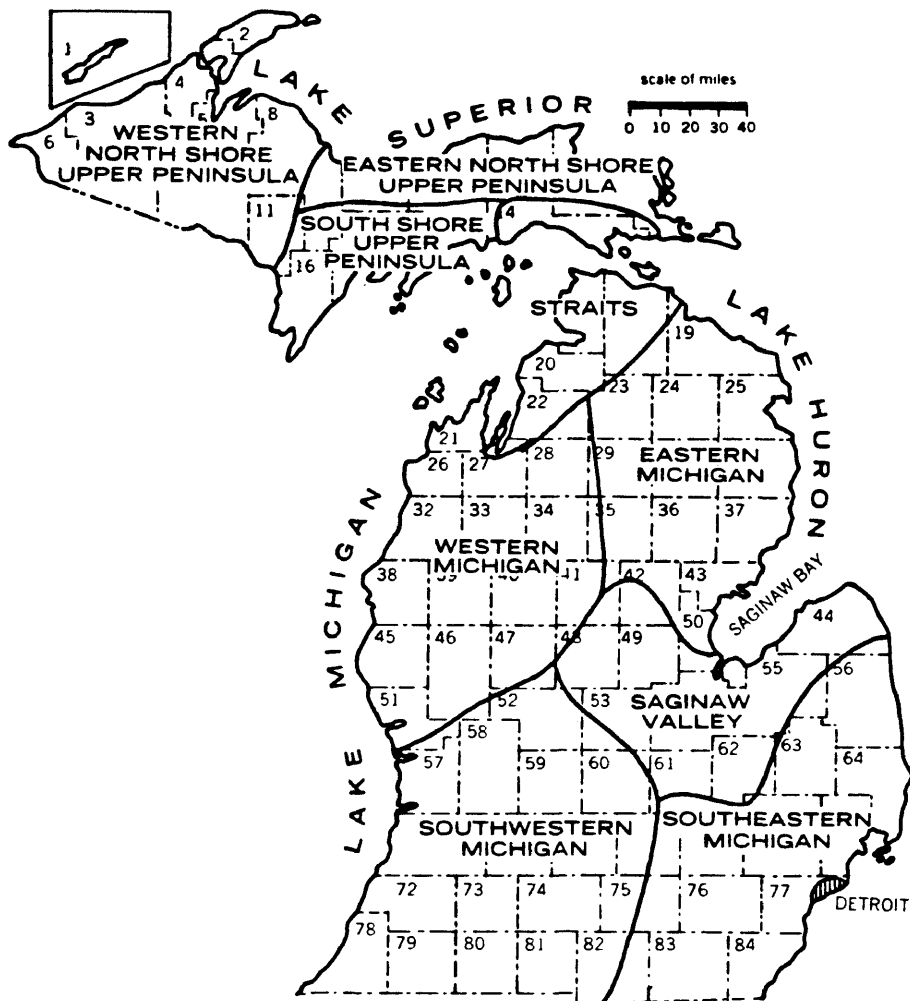
Fig. 14. Fitting's physiographic divisions of Michigan (1975:31).

Plain of the Eastern Lowlands Landform Region of Michigan (Fig. 15, Sommers 1977:24, 1984:59). This region follows the western coastline of Lake Huron from the southeastern coast of the Lower Peninsula to the Straits of Mackinac and is characterized by a very flat topography. During the glacial period this region was lake bottom. When the glaciers receeded the land rose and the lakes lowered creating extensive, flat, fertile plains (Sommers 1984:61). This area lies between 600-800 feet above sea level (Sommers 1977:26). The area in which the colonists settled is drained by the Cass River, a tributary of the Saginaw River.

Climate

The location of Michigan within the North American continent affects both its temperature and precipitation. Because Michigan lies distant from any oceanic influences it has a "continental climate" (Sommers 1984:72). Continental climates are characterized by great ranges between summer and winter temperatures. This occurs because land masses retain less heat that do large bodies of water and, therefore, are subject to greater changes in temperature in response to variations in the amount of solar energy received (Sommers 1984:72).

Extreme differences in the daily weather of Michigan
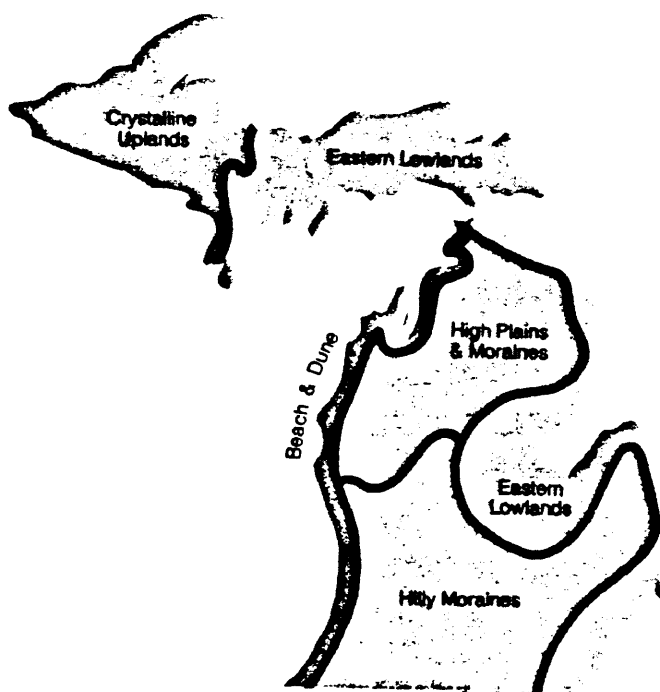
Fig. 15. Sommer's physiographic divisions of Michigan
(1984:59).

is largely the product of the air masses that flow across the state and bring with them their own characteristic conditions. Sixty percent of the air masses reaching Michigan originate in the Arctic or in Siberia. These Polar air masses enter the state from the north, northwest, or northeast and bring cold, dry weather. Pacific air masses comprise 25% of the air masses entering Michigan. These air masses originate in the North Pacific Ocean and are greatly modified by their passage across the Rocky Mountains. Arriving in Michigan from the north or northwest, Pacific air masses bring mild, dry weather. The least common (15%) air masses effecting Michigan weather are the Tropical air masses which originate in the Gulf of Mexico. These air masses arrive in Michigan from the south, southwest, or southeast and bring hot, humid weather in the summer (Sommers 1984:72-73).

Temperatures in Frankenmuth, as in the state as a whole, vary greatly depending on the season. The mean annual temperature for the Frankenmuth area is 47 F. Summer (July) temperatures average 71 F. with an average daily maximum temperature of 83 F. Winter (January) temperatures average 23 F. with an average daily minimum temperature of 15 F. (Sommers 1984:78-80).

Annual mean precipitation for the Frankenmuth area is 30 inches. The area receives an average of 40 inches of

snowfall annually (Sommers 1984:82-83).

Soils and Vegetation

The soils in the vicinity of Frankenmuth are generally
classed as Alfisols which are characterized by the heavy
leaching and accumulation of clay in the B soil horizon
immediately below the top layer of soil, horizon A (Sommers
1984:66-69). The soils in the immediate region in which
the Bavarian colonists settled are almost totally comprised
of Shoals-Sloan loams and silt loams (Mahjoory and
Whiteside 1976:231). This soil association is
characterized by nearly equal components of loam and an
alluvial silty clay loam (Mahjoory and Whiteside 1976:6).
These soils drain poorly and pose some limitations to the
agricultural use of the land but with artificial drainage
the soils can accomodate a wide variety of crops (Mahjoory
and Whiteside 1976:6, 84, 90).

Presettlement forests in this region predominantly
consisted of pine with maples, birch, and hemlocks also
present (Sommers 1977:45). There were also abundant fruit
and nut trees (Greenholt 1937:116). Currently, forested
regions consist of maples and beech (Sommers 1977:45).

Subsistence

If the Bavarian colonists who settled Frankenmuth

brought little in the way of material culture with them to their new home, they did bring as part of their culture a rich tradition of agricultural expertise. Since colonial times immigrant German farmers had proven to be unusually successful in the practice agriculture in the United States. Shryock (1939:46) enumerates several traits that were instrumental in their achieving this reputation for agricultural excellence.

German immigrant farmers usually settled in fertile, wooded land and totally cleared the land for planting. They also paid careful attention to soil conservation by deep plowing to reduce soil erosion and by rotating crops. Also, livestock was well tended in substantial barns or, if necessary, even sharing the family residence (Shryock 1939:46-47).

It is evident from the important place crops and livestock have in their correspondence that the colonists at Frankenmuth were practitioners of plow agriculture as their primary subsistence strategy (Frankenmuth 1854a, 1855). Plow agriculture integrates animal husbandry with plant production in a mutually supportive system. The most common animals utilized in this system are cattle horses, and swine. In this system the land being farmed is utilized by not only the human owners of the land but also by the livestock, which become not only the object of

production but an important component in the general
productivity of the farmstead. The livestock produce food,
raw materials in the form of hides, and labor. Also, their
manure is an important element in maintaining the stability
of soil fertility. This agricultural system also provided
the farmer with a flexibility to vary his production of
crops and livestock to adjust to changing economic
conditions (Pfeifer 1956:249-251).

Conclusions

A comparison of the environment of the Saginaw Valley
with that of Bavaria indicates that the settlers of
Frankenmuth would have found their new home to be somewhat
different than their homeland. Although the Saginaw Lake
Border Plain that comprises all of the area is very level
the colonists located in a region of small hills that
somewhat reminded them of their native land (Zehnder
1970:49). The soils of their new homeland would prove to
be richer than the acidic soils of Bavaria. One settler,
Johann Georg Schiefer wrote to his parents in Germany that
the soils in the region where he had settled were excellent
(Frankenmuth 1854b)

The climate of the Saginaw Valley would also have
varied from that of Bavaria. Michigan receives
approximately six more inches of precipitation than does

Bavaria. Also temperatures in Michigan are more extreme, with the summers being approximately seven degrees hotter and the winters being approximately six degrees colder than those in Bavaria. Neither the increased precipitation or the more extreme temperatures appeared to present much of a problem to the Bavarian colonists. The settlers did apparently experience some minor problems adjusting to doing heavy work during the warmer summer months. Even important tasks such as the initial clearing of the land were sometimes postponed until the cooler, autumn months (Frankenmuth 1854a).

There is little evidence that these physiographic and climatological differences had a significant impact on the settler's way of life. Wrote Johann Georg Schiefer to his parents:

> I want to write to you concerning the
> circumstances here in America. When one comes to
> America it is difficult. One has to buy bread
> for two years. But if one manages to come in by
> June, then one can still clear two to three
> acres. That is good, for after the second year
> one can grow enough to provide one's bread. I
> will give you an illustration. You buy 40 acres
> of forest land, and then begin to cut out the
> pole trees, for the big trees and the stumps are
> left standing. All prime soil and no pines or
> common spruce, but only other kinds. The stumps
> are soon taken out. One cannot think that it can
> be, where one year you have dense forest, there
> the following year you have crops growing. But
> that is due to the excellent soil (Frankenmuth
> 1854b).

In general, if life was not easy for the colonists it was still an improvement from their previous state in Bavaria.

Chapter 9

BAVARIAN AND AMERICAN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The settlement pattern chosen by the colonists of
Frankenmuth, over the objections of Craemer and Loehe, is
well documented. One of the cartographic documents in the
collection of the Frankenmuth Historical Museum is a
blueprint copy of a circa 1847 map of the Bavarian
communities at Frankenmuth and Frankentrost, a later
colonial settlement some ten miles distant from Frankenmuth
(Fig. 16). The date of the creation of the map as late
1847, or possibly early 1848, can be ascertained by the
fact that Frankentrost is depicted as having only twenty
settlers, by 1849 the village had thirty residents. Also
by early 1848 Frankenmuth had thirty-eight houses. The map
depicts approximately twenty-seven structures, including
the church and other structures which are probably
outbuildings (Frankenmuth 1847).

The settlement pattern cited by Weitschat and Zehnder
as being American in origin is depicted in the 1847 map as
contiguous linear lots of varying dimensions aligned on
either side of an east-west road that parallels the Cass
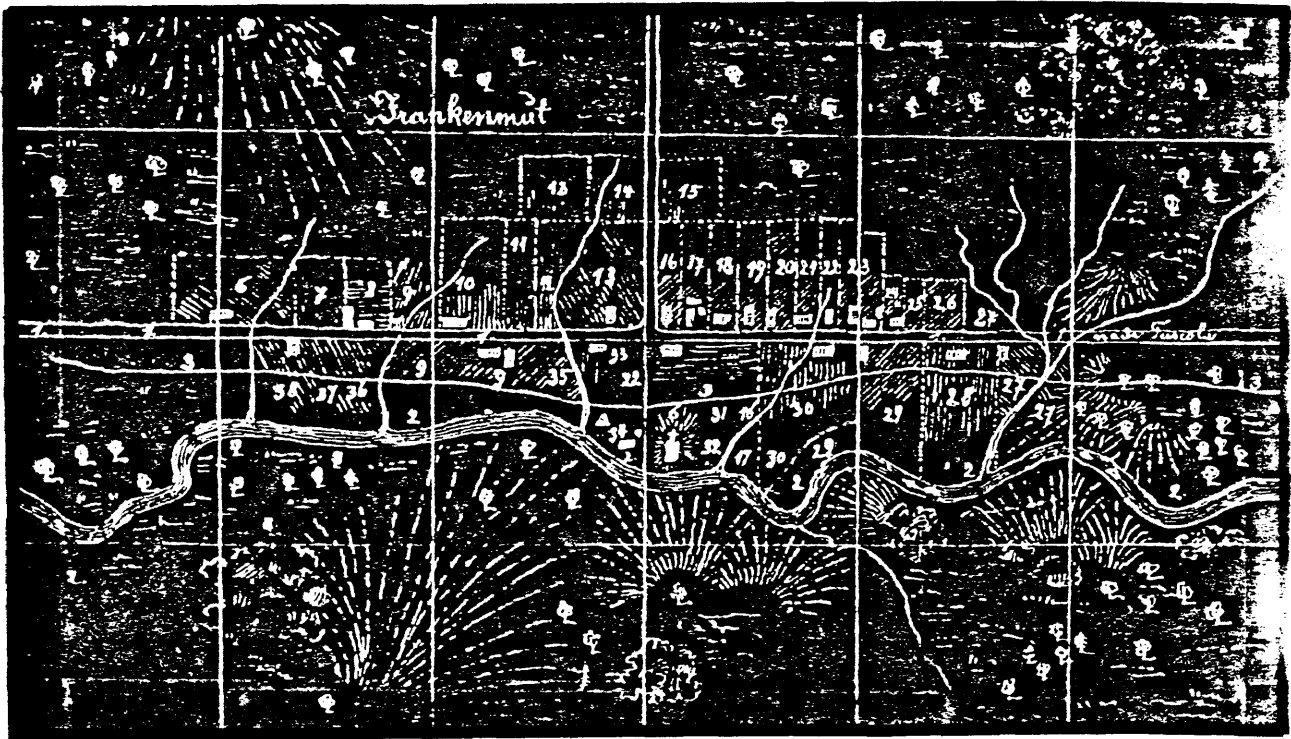
Fig. 16. Map of Frankenmuth (Frankenmuth 1847).
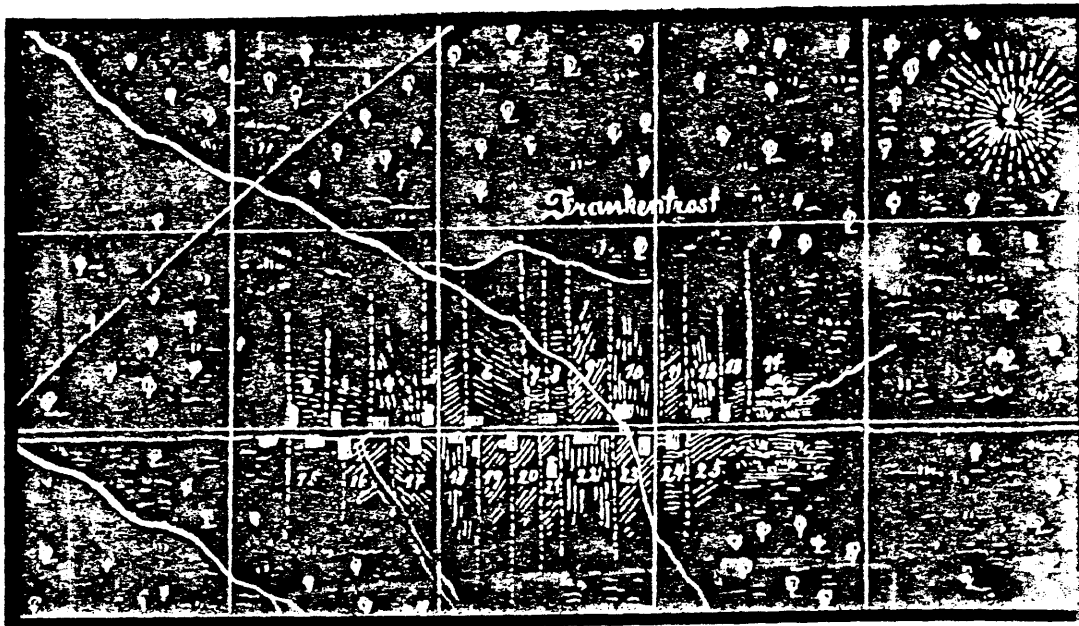
Fig. 17. Map of Frankenmuth (Frankenmuth 1847).

River. With the exception of the presence of the Cass
River, the pattern is the same for Frankentrost (Fig. 17).
A majority of the lots contain at least one structure.
This pattern is definitely unlike the highly nucleated
village proposed by Loehe and Craemer but is it an
"American" innovation or, possibly, a differing pattern
acquired from a less exotic source?

Both Weitschat and Zehnder accept as fact that a
highly nucleated village type of settlement is the only
19th-century Bavarian settlement type and that any change
from that pattern must originate outside of the Bavarian
cultural system. Dickinson (1949:260-261) identifies
eleven major classifications of historic rural settlement
in Germany. Two of these classifications, the
Strassendorf and the *Waldhufendorf* settlement types, appear
to closely approximate the physical layout of the
settlement pattern instituted by the colonists at
Frankenmuth. Both of the above patterns are classed as
nucleated settlement types (Dickinson 1949:260-263).

The *Strassendorf* or street village settlement type is
a planned community, usually designed by a village planner
known as a *Lokator* who followed certain widely accepted
principals of layout. The street village is characterized
by two series of farmsteads arranged so as to face each
other in two rows along a road which preexisted the

settlement (Dickinson 1949:254).

The *Waldhufendorf* or forest village settlement type is
generally found in forest clearings, though its occurrence
is not unique to that environmental setting. The forest
village settlement type is characterized by farmsteads
arranged in a series, much like beads on a chain, along a
broad valley bottom or transportation route. This
settlement type is also characterized by a systematic
layout of the farmsteads with consolidated landholdings, as
opposed to a system where each farmer's holdings are in the
form of disassociated strips of land. This latter "strip"
system is prevalent in settlements with communal
cultivation. Dickinson identifies the Black Forest region
of Bavaria as being one of the places of origin of this
form of rural settlement (Dickinson 1949:256-257).

Neither of the patterns described above exactly
matches the pattern instituted at Frankenmuth. The major
difference is the fact that both ideally require a road, or
some other transportation route, to be present before the
establishment of the settlement. This condition was not
met in the settlement of Frankenmuth. Dickinson's
classifications of historic German settlement types are, of
necessity, generalized descriptions of highly diverse
phenomena. Undoubtedly many settlement forms existed that
were intermediate between the distinct types identified by

Dickinson.

The only extended contacts the Bavarian immigrants had
with Americans was during their brief stay in Saginaw
before moving on to their settlement of the Cass River and
with other settlers in the vicinity of their village. It
appears likely, therefore, that if the settlement pattern
selected by the colonists was American in nature it must
have originated in Michigan. A brief investigation to
determine the settlement type(s) extant in Michigan in the
mid-19th-century follows.

Michigan was predominantly settled by immigrants from
the New England states (Dunbar 1970:255). During the 17th-
century New England settlement types originated as highly
nucleated "farm-villages" that served as local population
centers. Each farm-village had several satellite
settlements associated with it but isolated farmsteads were
uncommon. Generally, the settlers resided within the
village and farmed scattered farm plots that were often
some distance from their homes (Trewartha 1946:568, 577).
Throughout the 17th- and 18th-centuries this form of
settlement gradually declined as increasing numbers of
isolated farmsteads were founded. This process created
many settlement forms that were intermediate between
nucleated forms and dispersed forms of settlement. By the
early 19th-century the population had dispersed to a point

to where the nucleated farm-village no longer served as the
population centers of rural New England (Trewartha
1946:580).

Settlement studies of Michigan counties are rare but
W. Bruce Dick, in his 1940 study of the settlement of
Livingston County, Michigan identifies this highly
dispersed pattern of settlement as virtually the only
settlement type in that county. Livingston County is
located approximately 50 miles due south of Saginaw
County. The county was originally settled in 1830 by
immigrants from the New England states (Dick 1940:345,
349). Dick's research revealed that by 1839 the county was
heavily settled with dispersed, isolated farmsteads. No
concentrations of population were evident in the county at
that time (Dick 1940:350-351). This settlement pattern is
in agreement with the one proposed in the first stage of
Hudson's model of rural settlement (Hudson 1969).

Based on their antecedents in New England and on the
settlement pattern identified in Livingston County,
Michigan it would appear that any influences local
settlement patterns would have had on the Bavarian
colonists would be in the direction of a highly dispersed
settlement of isolated farmsteads.

As mentioned above the settlement pattern instituted
by the colonists at Frankenmuth does not conform to the

highly nucleated settlement type desired by the leadership of the colony. Neither does it correspond to the dispersed, isolated farmstead settlement pattern that appears to be prevalent in Michigan during the mid-19th-century. Formal analysis of the settlement pattern at Frankenmuth reveals that it is comprised of two series of family farmsteads separated by a road. All of the farmsteads are situated on individual lots that border one another. Although not an extreme example of the type, Dickinson (1949:263) identifies this settlement configuration as being a nucleated settlement type.

Although it may not be possible to determine the exact origins of the settlement pattern at Frankenmuth it appears probable that the settlers of the village actually implemented a *Waldhufendorf* settlement type. Unlike the *Strassendorf* settlement type this settlement type occurs in environmental conditions like those at Frankenmuth. Also, Bavaria is cited as one of the places of origin for the *Waldhufendorf* type of settlement. These facts argue that the *Waldhufendorf* type of settlement was probably known to the settlers and was recognized as being appropriate to the environmental conditions present along the Cass River in Saginaw County.

Chapter 10

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AS A SOCIAL ARTIFACT

It may also be possible to determine something of the
social consciousness of the colonists of Frankenmuth by
examining the settlement pattern chosen at the founding of
the village. Settlement patterns exist in a spectrum that
represents the settler's perception of their individual
relationship to the community as a whole. At one end of
this spectrum is the isolated farmstead situated in the
midst of its own fields is represenative of the independent
individual without community ties but who is dependent on a
well developed transportation system. At the other end is
the nucleated settlement, represenative of the individual
being well integrated into the community. In its most
extreme manifestation the nucleated settlement will
separate the individual's residence from his landholdings
(Dickinson 1949:240, Johnson 1974:12).

Because settlement patterns reflect the social
consciousness of the people who found and live within them
the pattern instituted becomes an artifact of that
consciousness. In the case of Frankenmuth, the lack of

cultural materials surviving from the time of the initial settlement of the village place added importance on the settlement pattern chosen by the colonists as that pattern is possibly the only artifact remaining from that period in the history of the village.

The fact that the nucleated settlement type implemented by the settlers is indicative of a high degree of social integration belies Weitschat and Zehnder's contentions that a break with traditional settlement forms was occurring. What Weitschat and Zehnder perceive as a dramatic ideological shift leading to the implementation of a new settlement pattern is most likely merely the expression of a traditional pattern. The controversy surrounding the implementation of this pattern was likely caused by the difference in conception of the nature and proper function of the settlement as held by the leadership of the colony and the colonists themselves.

As stated by Rutman (1980:30) communities are defined in two distinct ways, ideally and operatively. The definition of the former maintains that the community is a "state of social wholeness in which each member has his place and in which life is regulated by cooperation rather than by competition." The operative definition of community is "a group of people living together in some identifiable territory and sharing a set of interests

embracing their lifeways" (Rutman 1980:30). The difference between these two conceptions as to how a community should be viewed appears to lie at the heart of the controversy over the settlement pattern implemented at Frankenmuth.

Wilhelm Loehe's primary motivation for creating the colonies in the United States was the furtherance of religious ideals. The social and economic advancement of the colonists that were to serve as the medium by which those religious ideals would be transmitted was of secondary importance. The man charged with the implementation of Loehe's plan, August Craemer, was a linguist and an academic. Removed as they were from the world of the peasant farmers they would lead it appears that their conceptions of what constituted appropriate village organization were more ideologically based and stressed obedience to hierarchy, communal activities, and administrative ease, all of which would be promoted by a highly nucleated settlement pattern. The totally communal way of life is apparently based on the principle that the community benefits most from communal activities and that individual actions erode the structure of the community.

When the settlers were faced with their leadership's plans to implement a highly nucleated settlement pattern, which would fulfill its expectations of how the village should function, they were forced to choose between a

totally communal lifestyle or to implement a somewhat more dispersed pattern that was familiar to them and appropriate to their subsistence strategy and the environmental conditions of the Saginaw Valley. Their choice was a slightly dispersed nucleated pattern.

What does such a decision tell us about the social consciousness of the settlers who implemented the settlement pattern at Frankenmuth? Accepting the above description of the principle underlying the totally communal lifestyle as accurate the implications of the slightly dispersed nucleated pattern is that a certain amount of individual action is necessary for the efficient functioning of the society and that the community as a whole benefits most from the individual actions of its members.

Chapter 11

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions concerning the potentialities and
the problems of the archaeological study of ethnicity and
settlement pattern can be drawn from the information
presented in this thesis.

Since the scope of the investigation of th settlement
of Frankenmuth is that of community layout, and the models
of settlement produced by Hudson (1969), Lewis (1984), and
Warren and O'Brien (1984) all deal with regional
settlement, none of these models directly apply to the
settlement situation at Frankenmuth.   Nevertheless, a
comparison of the settlement at Frankenmuth with Lewis' two
major frontier settlement types, insular and cosmopolitan
(Lewis 1984:16-17), highlights one interesting aspect of
the settlement of Frankenmuth.

Because of its tenuous economic relationship with its
homeland in Bavaria, the settlement at Frankenmuth could be
classed as an insular settlement type.   Such settlement
types function in relative economic isolation but, as is
discussed above, almost from its founding Frankenmuth

achieved a high level of economic integration with the surrounding community. This level of economic security is usually enjoyed by the cosmopolitan settlements which are tightly linked to the economies of their parent states. Cosmopolitan settlements are usually short term in nature. Frankenmuth was planned from the beginning to be a permanent settlement. In terms of Lewis' classifications, Frankenmuth appears to exhibit traits of both the insular and cosmopolitan settlement types.

The apparent cause of this phenomenon is the fact that Frankenmuth never existed in a true frontier environment. The Saginaw Valley of Michigan was a well settled area by the time the Bavarian colonists arrived in 1845. Because the settlers of Frankenmuth could receive sufficient economic support, in the form of purchased or bartered goods and services, from neighboring farmsteads and the nearby city of Saginaw to guarantee the success of their major subsistence activity, plow agriculture, there was little necessity for the large scale adaptation to the local environment necessary for the survival of insular settlements. Also, since they functioned in relative economic isolation from their homeland, they were not subject to the economic needs of Bavaria and, therefore, were capable of sustaining the settlement without the outside economic influences prevalent in cosmopolitan

settlements.

Because Frankenmuth did not exist in a frontier environment it did not need to respond to the influences that determined the fates of the insular and cosmopolitan settlements. Frankenmuth was therefore free to create a settlement type intermediate between the insular and cosmopolitan settlement types. It would be interesting to investigate the artifactual patterns produced by this insular/cosmopolitan settlement type. Unfortunately, the virtually nonexistent archaeological record at Frankenmuth is unlikely to yield information concerning artifact patterning produced by this intermediate settlement type. It is possible, then, only to speculate that the paucity of ethnically identifiable artifactual material present at Frankenmuth is, in part, the product of the unusual economic circumstances that helped create the intermediate settlement exhibited by the village.

As is apparent from the above discussion, the major obstacle to the archaeological investigation of ethnicity in Frankenmuth is the general lack of ethnically identifiable material culture. The economic status of the settlers of the village appears to be a major cause of this situation. Owning little in their homeland, the settlers of Frankenmuth brought few material possessions with them when they emigrated to Michigan. This situation would lend

credence to the warnings of Otto (1980:11) and Baker
(1980:35) that apparent ethnic differences in an
archaeological record may actually be indicators of
economic status. If the above suggestion is true it may
also be true that the lack of ethnically identifiable
traits in an archaeological record may also be the product
of economic status. It may be necessary for extensive
archaeological investigations of more affluent ethnically
identifiable sites to be done before the relationship
between economic status and ethnic identity can be
accurately determined.

The study of settlement at Frankenmuth also provides
insight into the problems of the archaeological
investigation of ethnicity. The paucity of ethnicially
identifiable material culture dating to the early
settlement of the village suggests that it would be
possible to excavate the site of the original village and
not identify it as an ethnic settlement. One apparent
remedy to this situation is to, whenever possible, identify
ethnic settlements through the documentary record as
suggested by Otto (1980:11). In the case of Frankenmuth,
and presumably similar settlements with low artifact
densities, very careful collection and examination of
structural remains and of vestigial fence lines, or their
subsurface remains, could prove effective in determining

the layout of the community. Particular emphasis must also be placed on determining the function and relationships between the structures within the community. In this way it *may* be possible to determine some ethnic expression in the settlement pattern chosen by the community.

Finally, much has been made by some of the historians of the village of the perceived ideological nature of the settlement pattern chosen by the original settlers of Frankenmuth. Although the possibility of a largely ideologically motivated settlement pattern is admitted, there is little evidence to indicate that such is the case at Frankenmuth. All evidence discovered and reported in this thesis supports the proposition that the settlement pattern chosen by the colonists at the founding of Frankenmuth was the product of their perceived and subconcious evaluation of the natural environment of their new home, their subsistence needs, and the social environment in which they lived.

CITATIONS

Anderson, Margaret U.
  1983   Oral History of the Weber II (20SA582) Site. *In*
  •   Lovis 1983, pp. 293-310.

Baker, Vernon G.
  1980   Archaeological Visibility of Afro-American
        Culture: An Example from Black Lucy's Garden,
        Andover, Massachusetts. *In* Schuyler 1980, pp. 29-
        37.

Barth, Fredrik, editor
  1969   *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social
        Organization of Culture Difference.* Little, Brown
        and Co., Boston.

Beatty, Donald L.
  1957   *The Bavarian Dialect in Frankenmuth, Michigan,
        After A Century of American Influence.* Masters
        thesis, Department of German, Michigan State
        University.

Braudel, Fernand
  1979   *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the
        Possible.* Translated by Sian Reynolds. Harper
        and Row, New York.

Brunet, Fel V.
  1981a *A Cultural Resource Inventory Report of the Dehmel
        Road Bridge Right-Of-Way, Frankenmuth Township,
        Saginaw County, Michigan.* Saginaw Archaeological
        Commission Report No. 42781, Saginaw.

  1981b *Further Excavations at 20SA581 and 20SA582, The
        Weber I and II Sites, Frankenmuth Township,
        Saginaw County, Michigan.* Saginaw Archaeological
        Commission Report No. 92481.

Dengler, Robert Arthur
  1953   *The German Settlement At Frankenmuth, Michigan, In
        Its First Century.* Masters thesis, Department of
        English, Michigan State University.

Dick, W. Bruce
1940   A Study of Settlement and Land Use in Livingston
        County, Michigan. *Papers of the Michigan Academy
        of Science, Arts, and Letters* 26(3):345-400.

Dickinson, Robert E.
1949   Rural Settlement in the German Lands. *Annals of
        the American Geographers,* 39(4):239-263.

1964   *Germany: A General and Regional Geography.*
        Methuen and Co., Ltd., London.

Dudal, R., R. Tavernier, and D. Osmond
1966   *Soil Map of Europe.* Food and Agriculture
        Organization of the United Nations, Rome.

Dunbar, Willis F.
1970   *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State.*
        William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.

Dustin, Fred
1968a   Saginaw Valley Archaeology. James E. Fitting,
        editor. *Michigan Archaeologist* 14(1-2).

1968b   The Treaty of Saginaw, 1819. *In* Dustin 1968a,
        pp. 95-116.

1968c   Some Indian Place Names Around Saginaw. *In*
        Dustin 1968a, pp. 117-125.

Elkins, T. H.
1972   *Germany.* Chatto and Windus, London.

Emery, B. Frank
1932   *Fort Saginaw, 1822-1823.* Old Fort and Historical
        Memorial Association, Detroit.

Evans, William S., Jr.
1980   Food and Fantasy: Material Culture of the Chinese
        in California and the West, Circa 1850-1900. *In*
        Schuyler 1980, pp. 89-96.

Frankenmuth Historical Museum Collection
n.d.   Photograph purported to be of the original
        parsonage and schoolhouse.

1846a   Anonymous letter dated June 28.

1846b   Letter from Mrs. Lorenz Loesel, dated June 26.

1847   Map of Frankenmuth and Frankentrost.

1854a   Letter from Jakob Schwartz, dated November 10.

1854b   Letter from Johann Georg Schiefer, dated November
        21.

1855   Letter from Johann Georg Scheifer, dated December
        20.

Gradwohl, David M. and Nancy M. Osborn
    1984   *Exploring Buried Buxton: Archaeology of an
            Abandoned Iowa Coal Mining Town with a Large Black
            Population.* Iowa State University Press, Ames.

Greenholt, Homer Reginald
    1937   *A Study of Wilhelm Loehe, His Colonies and the
            Lutheran Indian Missions in the Saginaw Valley of
            Michigan.* Doctoral dissertation, Divinity School,
            University of Chicago.

Gross, Stuart D.
    1980   *Saginaw: A History of the Land and the City.*
            Windsor Publications, Woodland Hills, CA.

Handlin, Oscar
    1951   *Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations
            that Made the American People.* Little, Brown and
            Co., Boston.

Hudson, John C.
    1969   A Locational Theory for Rural Settlement. *Annals
            of the American Association of Geographers* 59:365-
            381.

Jakle, John A.
    1974   A Historical Perspective on Rural Settlement:
            Comment. *Agricultural History* 48:26-30.

Johnson, Hildegard Binder
    1974   A Historical Perspective on Form and Function in
            Upper Midwest Rural Settlement. *Agricultural
            History* 48:11-25.

Johnson, Howard G.
    1972   *The Franconian Colonies of the Saginaw Valley,
            Michigan: A Study in Historical Geography.*
            Doctoral dissertation, Department of Geography,
            Michigan State University.

Jordan, Terry G.
   1982   *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy.*   University
          of Texas Press, Austin.

Kelly, Marsha C. S. and Roger E. Kelly
   1980   Approaches to Ethnic Identification in Historical
          Archaeology.   *In*   Schuyler 1980, pp. 133-144.

Langhorne, W. Thomas
   1983   Description of Artifacts from the Weber II Site.
          In   Lovis 1983, pp. 231-256.

Lewis, Kenneth C.
   1984   *The American Frontier: An Archaeological Study of
          Settlement Pattern and Process.*   Academic Press,
          New York.

Lovis, William A., editor
   1983   *Archaeological Investigations at the Weber I
          (20SA581) and Weber II (20SA582) Sites,
          Frankenmuth Township, Saginaw County,   Michigan.*
          Michigan State University.

Mahjoory, R. and E. P. Whiteside
   1976   *The Soils of Saginaw County, Michigan.*   Department
          of Crop and Soil Science, Michigan State
          University.

McGaugh, Maurice E.
   1952   *The Settlement of the Saginaw Basin.*   Doctoral
          dissertation, Department of Geography, University
          of Chicago.

McGuire, Randall H.
   1982   The Study of Ethnicity in Historical Archaeology.
          Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 1:159-178.

Meyer, Judith, W.
   1975   Ethnicity, Theology, and Immigrant Church
          Expansion.   *The Geographical Review* 65(2):180-197.

Mills, James Cook
   1918   *History of Saginaw County, Michigan.*   Seemans and
          Peters, Saginaw.

O'Brien, Michael J.
   1984   *Grassland, Forest, and Historical Settlement: An
          Analysis of Dynamics in Northeast Missouri.*
          University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Otto, John Solomon
1980   Race and Class on Antebellum Plantations. *In*
        Schuyler 1980, pp. 3-13.

Pfeifer, Gottfried
1956   The Quality of Peasant Living in Central Europe.
        In Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth.
        Edited by William L. Thomas, Jr. University of
        Chicago Press.

Rutman, Darrett B.
1980   Community Study. *Historical Methods* 13(1):29-41.

Sawyer, Charles H.
1979   He Studies German Taste in Architecture.
        Washtenaw Impressions May, pp. 2-5.

1981a   *Frankenmuth and Vicinity.* Manuscript on file,
        Frankenmuth Historical Museum.

1981b   The Germans in the Saginaw Valley. *Chronicle of
        the Michigan Historical Society* 17(4):5-11.

Schuyler, Robert L., editor
1980   *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in
        America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture
        History.* Baywood Publishing Co., Farmingdale, NY.

Shryock, Richard H.
1939   British Versus German Traditions in Colonial
        Agriculture. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*
        26(1939-40):39-54.

Sinnhuber, K. A.
1961   *Germany, Its Geography and Growth.* John Murray,
        London.

Smith, Beverly A.
1983   Analysis of Faunal Remains: The Weber II Site
        (20SA582). *In* Lovis 1983, pp. 273-282.

Sommers, Lawrence M.
1977   *Atlas of Michigan.* Michigan State University
        Press, East Lansing.

1984   *Michigan: A Geography.* Westview Press, Boulder.

Sopher, David E.
1967   *Geography of Religions.* Prentice-Hall, Inc.,
        Englewood Cliffs, NJ

Tocqueville, Alexis de
    1862   *Memoir, Letters, and Remains.* Ticknor and Fields, Boston.

Trewartha, Glenn T.
    1946   Types of Rural Settlement in Colonial America. *The Geographical Review* 36:568-596.

Trigger, Bruce G.
    1978a *Time and Traditions: Essays in Archaeological Interpretation.* Columbia University Press, New York.

    1978b The Determinants of Settlement Patterns. *In* Trigger 1978a, pp. 167-193.

United States Department of Commerce, Weather Bureau
    1965-7 *World Weather Records, 1959-1960, Volume 1-2.* Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

United States Geological Survey
    1978a Birch Run Quadrangle.

    1978b Frankenmuth Quadranlge.

Walker, Mack
    1964   *Germany and the Emigration.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Warren, Robert E. and Michael J. O'Brien
    1984   A Model of Frontier Settlement. *In* O'Brien 1984, pp. 22-57.

Weitschat, Arthur A.
    1976   *Bavarianism in Frankenmuth: The Geography of an Ethnic Idea in a Small Town.* Master thesis, Department of Geography, Wayne State University.

Willey, Gordon R.
    1953   *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Viru Valley.* Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 155, Washington.

Zehnder, Herman F.
    1970   *Teach My People the Truth: The Story of Frankenmuth, Michigan.* Herman F. Zehnder, Bay City, MI.

VITA

Gary Grant Robinson

Born in Flint, Michigan, March 25, 1949. Graduated from Clio Area High School, Clio, Michigan in June 1967. Received an Associate of Arts deree in History from Charles Stewart Mott Community College, Flint, Michigan in April 1973. Earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in History, granted *cum laude*, from Saginaw Valley State College, University Center, Michigan in April 1977. Received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology from Michigan State University, East Lansing in June 1980.

Earned a Master of Arts degree in Anthropology with a specialization in Historical Archaeology from the College of William and Mary in May 1987. Course requirements and examinations for this degree were completed in 1981. The thesis was completed in 1987.